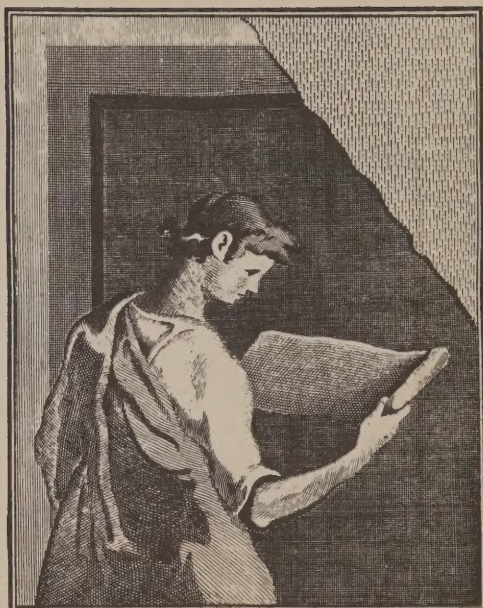




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VOLUME V

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION BY

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

AND

GINN & COMPANY, 29, BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

1911

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1911.

RESTORATIONS AND EMENDATIONS IN LIVY I.-V.

(Continued from p. 276.)

II. 65. 5.

(A hard struggle with the Volsci.) Restitere primo obstinatis animis; deinde ut obtinentes locum †*uivres ferebant*† audent ultro gradum inferre.

So read the MSS. Weissenborn proposed *uivres refecerant*, on which Madvig improved with *uivres reficiebant*; but one naturally asks how they did so. Did they call 'half-time' in the middle of the mêlée? What they really did was to stand their ground stubbornly, beat off the enemy's attack, and then like the true soldiers they were, take the aggressive. This sense may be obtained by very little change of the MSS: *deinde ut obtinentes locum <uim pro> ui referebant*; which is not only in the tone of x. 33. 4. 'primo resistunt, deinde inferunt pedem urgentque et impulsos etc.', but finds a verbal echo in III. 13. 4 *ui contra uim resistunt*; cf. Cic. Milo 4. 9. *ui uis inlata defenditur*; and for the use of *referre*, cf. *par pro pari referto* (Ter. Eun. III. 1. 55; cf. also Phorm. Prol. 21) and *uicem referre* (Ovid A. A. I. 370): cf. also Cic. Caec. §§ 84, 85.

BOOK III.

III. 14. 6.

The young nobles under the leadership of Caeso Quinctius are uncompromising in opposition to the lex Terentilia, but are courteous to the plebeians and even to the tribunes in all other matters.

Nunquam ulli . . . truces esse nisi cum de lege agi coeptum esset: alibi popularis iuuentus erat †*nec cetera* modo tribuni tranquillo peregere sed refecti quoque in insequentem *annum*.† *Ne uoce quidem incommoda* nedum ut ulla uis fieret paulatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerant plebem. His per totum *annum* artibus lex elusa est.

It seems necessary either with Madvig to change *incommoda* to *incommodi*, or with Harant *mansuefecerant* to *mansuefecerat*; we prefer the plural verb; any-

how the whole sentence *ne uoce—plebem* and the next must refer to the young nobles. What then is the meaning and point of the interpolated sentence *nec cetera—annum*? Why should the mention of the behaviour of the tribunes, still more their re-election be foisted into the middle of the account of the attitude of Caeso's party? It is impossible to suppose that we have Livy's order, and we propose to move¹ the words to their more natural place after *elusa est*. The scribe's eye must have been drawn from *ne uoce* to *nec cetera*, so that he finished the clause and the next before he discovered his mistake. If he put signs for the true order they were afterwards neglected or not understood. (Or slipping from *annum* to *annum* the scribe left out *artibus lex elusa est . nec cetera . . . annum*; and the restorer put *artibus lex elusa est* into the right place while the rest *nec cetera . . . annum* meandered into the wrong one.)

Incidentally the restoration that we suggest brings *incommoda* close to *iuuentus* and therefore we need not write *incommodi*, and the MSS are so far justified and that in the place where error was less probable.

III. 25. 6.

legati ab Roma uenerunt questum iniurias et ex eo† foedere res repetitum.

In § 5 Livy says that the Aequi 'rupto foedere quod ictum erat priore anno cum Romanis' raided the Labican and Tusculan area; hence the embassy of § 6. D is said with some later MSS to omit the *eo*, but the rest (MPFUOHL) keep it and rightly we think. Fully recognising the truth of Gronovius' statement that *ex* and *eo* are often confused we need not apply the doctrine to every *ex* and *eo* we see; *eo eum* etc. have been, as it is, too often mutilated or destroyed by the scribes.

III. 26. 12.

Quinctius is made dictator, sed ea (i.e. plebs) nequaquam tam laeta Quinctium uidit et *imperii†* nimium et uirum [in] ipso imperio uehementiorem rata.

Editors are agreed in removing *in*, but the concinnitas of the sentence also requires *imperium*; *imperii* could as easily pass into *imperii* before *nimum*, as the *in* creep in after *uirum*; more easily, if *imperium* was at the end of a line in uncials or the exemplar had the Fleury siglum *imperii* which has led H wrong so often especially in VII. and VIII.—e.g. *steterit* from *steterit* for *steterit*. Other MSS show corruptions possibly due to the same cause, such as in F *cui* from *cū* for *cū* (the reference we have not yet recovered); so in H and L s (*f*) has come from *i* meaning *in* at V. 45. 4, V. 52. 4 and elsewhere.

¹ For examples of similar transpositions see vol. iv. p. 274, and add to them the omission of the words *tunc uictorem . . . exercitu* in VIII. 31. 7 by MPFU and their wrong insertion several lines above (§ 6); also the famous nest of cruces in the

description of the Roman army (VIII. 8. 4-8) which one of us claims to have completely removed by a transposition for which there is some actual evidence in M and O (*Camb. Philol. Soc. Proceedings*, October 26, 1905).

III. 37. 7.

Hi ferre agere plebem plebisque res, cum fortuna †qua (qui H) quidquid† cupitum foret potentioris esset.

Editors are generally content with removing *qua*, but Madvig writes *aequa*; if any change in the text is to be made, we should prefer to read *qua quid*. The MSS however seem to us right and the use of *quidquid* as a mere indefinite, after a preceding generalising relative, paralleled by Lucr. I. 289 ‘(amnis) ruit *qua quidquid* fluctibus obstat.’ This poetical usage may be justified by supposing that Livy was quoting some old saw or poetical tag, such as *qua quidquid cupitur mox potentioris est*; Livy’s fondness for quotations from the old poets hardly needs illustration; see now especially Anderson on Livy IX. 19. 17 in his Pitt Press edition. [Compare Cic. *Fin.* III. 5. 9. 24 ‘Cum autem processit paulum et quatenus quicquid se attingat ad seque pertineat perspicere coepit, tum sensim incipit progredi,’ with the crowd of examples in Madvig’s note; esp. Cic. *Cluent.* § 52 ‘ut quidquid apprehenderam,’ and as an example of the legal use C. I. L. I. 200 § 32; further my article in *Festschrift für C. F. W. Müller, Jahrb. f. Philol.* 27. 90. F. S.]

III. 39. 5.

(The kings and decemvirs contrasted.) Quae si in rege †*tum eodem aut in*† filio regis ferenda non fuerint quem laturum in tot priuatis?

So the MSS. Zingerle offers *in rege et uno quondam aut in filio*; M. Müller leaves the riddle as unsolved; Madvig in his Third Edition discards his earlier conjecture *rege et uno eodem etc.*, for the somewhat lordly¹ alteration, *rege et in eadem audenti filio*. Nothing seems needed but the removal of *eodem* which, in the form of *eadem*, may very well be restored to the place from which we may easily suppose it to have dropped—namely, after the *em* of *quem*: ‘quae si in rege tum aut in filio regis ferenda non fuerint, quem *e a d e m* laturum in t. p.?’

III. 40. 11.

(L. Cornelius appeals for a suspension of judgement against the decemvirs until the public enemy is driven off.) The MSS have ‘Ceterum †*n e m i n e m* maiore cura occupatis animis uerum esse praeiudicium rei tantae *a u f e r r i*† sibi placere de eo quod etc.’

Zingerle and M. Müller read, after Weissenborn and H. J. Müller, *ceterum (nec enim—tantae fieri) sibi placere, etc.*; Madvig has *ceterum (etenim—haud fieri) sibi placere, etc.*; others have proposed truly fearful and wonderful things which we will spare our readers. But ‘it is quite a simple problem,’ as the detective of fiction says after sleepless days and nights; only *neminem* need be corrected: read *ceterum (n o n n e e n i m—auferri?) sibi placere, etc.*, i.e. ‘is it not a right principle that in such circumstances all prejudgement be put aside?’ The corruption of *nneenim* into *nneenim* (or *neenim* or the like) and then into *neminem* is very pardonable.

¹ We should find it hard to produce a parallel to *in eadem audenti* in the sense of *in audenti eadem*.

III. 50. 10.

(Verginius has returned to the camp and addressed the soldiers.) Et immixti turbae militum togati [*cum*] eadem illa querendo docendoque quanto uisa quam audita indigniora *potuerint* uideri, simul profligatam iam rem nuntiando Romae esse, *insecutosque* qui Appium . . . in exilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt ut etc.

Cum—*simul* for *cum*—*tum* is unlikely, so it is best to let *cum* go,¹ though Zingerle proposes *simul* for it; it is difficult, however, to see why *simul* should have been corrupted. Madvig put *oportuerit* for *potuerint*, without need, we think; editors seem agreed to write *insecutique* for the MSS *insecutosque*, but the new reading makes a clumsy addition to the subject of *perpulerunt*. We suggest *insecutis* [que] *qui Appium*, as a better restoration. This is rather closer to the MSS and gives the normal increase to the subject by an ablative absolute.

III. 54. 11.

Tribunos plebis creauerunt . . . L. Icilius et P. Numitorius auunculum Verginiae auctores secessionis; so we read, not *Vergini*. We decline to suppose that the *puellae auus* of c. 45. 4 took the active part more suitable to his son (c. 46. 5); and though Numitoria may have married her cousin for all we know to the contrary (so that her husband's uncle would be also her own father and her daughter's grandfather), yet if Livy had had knowledge of this interesting fact he would hardly have stated it in this way (or any way).

III. 67. 1.

in contionem *uestrum* (uel *uestram*) processi: so the codd. Nicom.: in conspectum *uestrum* processi, V.

Read *in contionem in conspectum uestrum processi* (and bless both sides) and cf. V. 46. 2 where a similar combination is well justified. (See below.)

III. 72. 6.

sed plus cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis †*Scaptius* ualet.

As reported in the C. Q. July 1908, the codex Oxoniensis omits *Scaptius*; we are agreed that it is right, as also is its omission of *Gallorum* in V. 36. 2. [It can hardly be an accident that *cūpīdītātīs uālet* gives an excellent clausula, which *Scaptius* completely spoils. F. S.]

BOOK IV.

IV. 2. 2 and 3; 10 and 11.

(The Consuls against Canuleius.) Maximum Romae praemium seditionum esse; *id* †*et* singulis uniuersisque semper honori fuisse. [Reminiscerentur quam maiestatem senatus ipsi a patribus acceperant, quam liberis tradituri essent *ut* †*quemadmodum* plebs gloriari posset auctiorem amplioremque

¹ As in I. 35. 3 where most of the MSS offer it; I. 6. 4 where O inserts it after *quoniam*: I. 41. 7 (see above).

[*esse*.] *Finem ergo non fieri nec futuram donec quam felices seditiones tam honorati seditionum auctores essent.*

1. The words bracketed are undoubtedly imposing, but somewhat irrelevant, as will be found by leaving them out and passing from *honori fuisse* to *finem ergo*; the connexion of thought and phrase will be found closer still if we write thus: *seditionem* (or *ideo*¹ *seditionem*) *singulis uniuersisque semper honori fuisse. Finem ergo non fieri nec futuram donec quam felices seditiones tam honorati seditionum auctores essent.* (Notice the repetition of *seditio* and *honor*.)

2. Now let us turn to §§ 10. 11. 'Quia tum concessum sit de tribunis, iterum concessum esse. Finem non fieri posse, †*sin eadem ciuitate tribuni*† plebis et patres *esse*†.' This is F's reading. The other MSS have for *sin* merely *in*. P (with F) has *tribuni*; the others *tribunos* or *tr*. If we write *si in eadem ciuitate tribuni plebis et patres essent*, there is no need of other changes.

3. Returning to the bracketed sentence of §§ 2-3, let us try to put that right internally. Modern editors have decided in favour of putting *se esse* for *esse* and of changing *ut* to *et* with some later MSS or of omitting *ut*; we prefer to write *uel* (i.e. *ul*) for *ut*, and put the *se* after *posset* (where it could easily fall out) thus: *uel quemadmodum plebs gloriari posset se auctiorem amplioremque esse.*

4. Finally we imagine that the scribe omitted the words *reminiscerentur*—*esse* after *concessum esse* in § 10, and that they were put in the margin with a note to restore them before *finem* with the result that they were put in before the wrong *finem* i.e. in § 2.

§§ 10 and 11 should then be restored thus: 'quia tum concessum sit de tribunis, iterum concessum esse. Reminiscerentur quam maiestatem senatus ipsi a patribus accepissent, quam liberis tradituri essent, uel quemadmodum plebs gloriari posset se auctiorem amplioremque esse. Finem non fieri posse si in eadem ciuitate tribuni plebis et patres essent.'

The mention of *conubia promiscua* in § 6 and of *maiores* in § 9 favours this transposition to a place where the words are more in the general line of thought than in §§ 2. 3 where they break the connexion.

P.S.—In M at IX. 5. 6 and IX. 4. 12 and other places the scribe has put the omitted sentences far away up in the margin from where they belong; P and H often put such sentences into the top or bottom margin, and sometimes they might easily be copied in at the point where they are placed; O has omitted VI. 40. 1-16, and replaced the passage after VI. 41. 10. See further our note on II. 39. 2-3 above.

IV. 6. 2.

(The consuls come to a *contio* and the speeches are followed by an *altercatio*, but the text gives us the name neither of the heckled nor of the

¹ For *id et* Weissenborn reads *ideo*, Madvig *id*, Postgate *inde*.

heckler): 'interroganti tribuno cur etc., ut fortasse uere sic parum *utiliter*† *in praesens certamen* respondit.'

Madvig rightly says the name of one of the consuls has fallen out. M. Müller promptly suggests *Genucius* as 'easily omitted' after *certamen*! (Did he mean *Curtius* before it?) Harant better writes *alter roganti*, and Luterbacher *responderunt* with 2 later MSS (and 2 consuls). We would suggest *utiliter alter in praesens* (i.e. his interlocutor). The separation of *utiliter* from *in praesens* by an unemphatic pronoun is quite idiomatic; *is*, *ille*, and their like are nowhere so happy as in separating words which the meaning has joined.

IV. 7. 10 and 11.

His consulibus (created by the interrex) . . . foedus renouatum est . . . (but, says Livy, their names were not on the registers, and he adds, according to the MSS), credo quod tribuni militum initio anni fuerant, eo, perinde ac totum annum in imperio fuerint, †suffectis iis (or *his*) consulibus† praetermissa nomina consulum horum Licinius Macer auctor est et in foedere Ardeatino et in linteis libris ad Monetea† (V; —*tae* or *te* cdd. cett.) inuenta.

Here one thing is absolutely certain: Licinius must begin a new sentence; therefore Mommsen's *ad Monetae ea* is right. *Suffectis iis* (or *his*) *consulibus* have been changed to every possible and impossible case and combination of cases. Crévier did the wisest thing and cut them out; but this is scarcely scientific as *suffectis* is too good for a gloss and it supplies a reason for the omission of the names; however, a sentence made out of them would be clumsy and heavy. The remedy seems to be to write in § 10 *suffectis his consulibus* instead of *His consulibus* merely, and to cut the words out altogether before *praetermissa*, and so to let Livy assume what he is going to state more definitely afterwards. (O's punctuation is *fuerint suffectis. his consulibus praetermissa*). A precise parallel to the corruption we suppose will be found in Gellius *Praef.* § 19 where the word *percontando* is omitted by the MSS in its proper place before *scribendo* in the first half of the sentence but *percontando scribendo* are inserted in the last clause, making nonsense. The true order was restored by Gronovius. We owe this parallel to Prof. Skutsch, who refers also to an interesting article by Brinkman (*Rhen. Mus.* 57 (1902) p. 481) who gives many examples of this type of corruption in Greek MSS, by the introduction of a peg-word (Stichwort) with its attached word or words in the wrong place.

IV. 8. 2 and 3.

(The rise of the censorship.) *Idem hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei . . . quae deinde tanto incremento aucta est ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, senatus equitumque centuriis decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub dicione eius magistratus, publicorum tuis priuatorumque locorum, uectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio essent.*

M. Müller must be right with *senatui* though he modestly prints Madvig's *in senatu*. V puts *ius* after *magistratus* which Mommsen changes to *eius* and gives to the following words; M omits *ius* (otherwise the MSS are agreed). Luterbacher, feeling the rawness of *arbitrio* alone, wrote *arbitrio eius*; he certainly has laid his hand on the weak spot—and if he would write *arbitrio eius magistratus* and cut out *sub dicione eius magistratus* as a gloss on this, we should heartily agree with him. We believe the sentence is greatly improved by this change—‘ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, | senatui equitumque centuriis decoris dedecorisque discrimen, | publicorum ius priuatorumque locorum, | uectigalia populi Romani | sub nutu atque arbitrio *eius magistratus* essent.’

IV. 9. 9.

urbem quoque omni, etiam expertem† ante certaminis, multitudine opificum ad spem praedae euocata obsidere parat.

Read *expertium*. This is better than the doubtful form *experte* and better in the synthesis of the sentence.

IV. 11. 6.

qui †praeter minime popolare ministerium, agro adsignando sociis quem populus R. suum iudicasset †cum plebem offendissent, etc.

Editors have accepted from two later MSS *per* for *praeter*, but we fail to see any palaeographic justification. Is it not better to suppose that *cum* was lost after *ministerium* and wrongly added before *plebem*? Thereby all the clause <*cum*> *agro—offendissent* explains *minime popolare*.

IV. 16. 2.

L. Minucius boue aurato (<et statua> add. Madv.) extra portam Trigeminam est donatus.

If with a horn-gilded ox, why outside the gate? Madvig's *statua* seems necessary: a statue on the quay would be very suitable and, as Drakenborch knew, the coins of the gens Minucia represent this very statue, which consisted, if we may take the coin of C. Minucius Augurinus (129 B.C.; Babelon, *Monn. de la Rép.* p. 229) as reasonably accurate, of the figure of a man standing and holding a sceptre in one hand and ears of corn in the other; ears of corn appear also in the field of the coin, and below the statue one of the figures holds a loaf of bread in one hand and a platter in the other; cf. also a coin of 114 B.C. (ib. p. 231). The statue was more probably gilded than the bull—there is no bull on the coins—; so read *boue et statua aurata*; M's *aturato* may possibly be a brachylogical survival of *et statua aurata*.

IV. 20. 8.

Qui si ea in re (i.e. in the fact that the annals and the linteï libri put the consulate of Cossus later) sit error, existimatio communis omnibus est.

There is no need to write *quod si* with later MSS, nor *quis* with edd. since Gronovius: *error* = 'cause of doubt, perplexity,' cf. IV. 61. 11, XXVII. 47. 4, and IX. 15. 11: *sequitur hunc errorem alius error, Cursorne Papirius . . . consul . . . creatus sit an, etc.*; and render: 'But if the cause of doubt about this (with *qui error* cf. *is rumor* 'the report of this event,' and the like) should lie merely in the fact that the annals mention Cossus only as consul seven years later, that is a problem (which I do not profess to explain but) which everyone must settle according to his liking.' Because he does not see how to account for the incorrectness of the ancient annals, Livy does not like to admit it in so many words; but it is clear to him that the inscription gives the better evidence. (For *communis existimatio* cf. XXIII. 47. 8.)

IV. 24. 5.

(On the censorship.) *grauē esse iisdem per tot annos †magna partē uitae obnoxios esse.*

There is no necessity, as some earlier commentators saw, to change this to *magnam partem* with Madvig, as if men lived literally a dog's life chained up for 20 hours out of every 24; but everyone was under the shadow of the censors in a large portion of his daily life (cf. IV. 8. 2 and 3 just quoted); people at Rome could no more get away from them than we from the income-tax-collector.

IV. 30. 4 and 12.

'Consules L. Sergius etc.; †nihil dignum dictu actum his consulibus. Secuti eos consules A. Cornelius Cossus T. Quinctius Poenus iterum†.' (Then follows a raid of the Veientes in which the Fidenates are suspected of complicity and are punished. A drought follows.) § 12 'Irae aduersus Veientes in insequentem annum, C. Seruilius Aham L. Papirius Mugillanus consules, dilatae sunt;' then again nothing is done, but fetials are sent to Veii. After this we have the remarkable statement that the *consul* Quinctius puts to the people the question of peace or war and in c. 31. 1 he is created trib. mil. *ex consulatu*; on which Madvig remarks that Livy has made an error! once more we prefer to trust rather 'the antique Roman than the Dane'; Livy of course makes errors but credat Iudaeus that Livy could thus contradict himself on the same page. At § 12 Harant boldly cuts out the consuls as though they were Libanius' archons in the *De Corona*. We cannot merely interchange the names of the consuls of the two years, as there seems to be nothing whatever in the shape of the sentence to have caused the error; so we prefer to remove bodily the obelized words from § 4 to § 12 after *dilatae sunt*. The sequence of events is then as follows: In the consulship of Sergius and Lucretius fall the Veientine raid, the punishment of the Fidenates, and the drought (429 B.C.), but 'irae aduersus Veientes in insequentem annum (428 B.C.), C. Seruilius Aham L. Papirius consules, dilatae sunt; nihil dignum dictu actum his consulibus; (—we can scarcely be

maligning them—) *secuti eos consules A. Cornelius Cossus*¹ *T. Quinctius Poenus iterum: tunc quoque* etc.

To account for this we need only suppose that the scribe accidentally omitted *nihil dignum . . . iterum*.² When these words once got into the margin, heaven help them! (Compare the note on IV. 2 above.)

IV. 43. 4.

(The number of the quaestors is doubled.) *Quam rem, praeter duos urbanos †quaestores duo qui† consulibus ad ministeria belli praesto essent, a consulibus relata* etc.

Gronovius wrote *ut* for *qui*: Luterbacher inserts *ut crearentur* after *duo*. This seems right for the sense but does not explain the corruption. We propose *praeter duos urbanos* [quaestores] <*ut crearentur alii*> *quaestores duo qui* etc., i.e. before *ut crearentur alii* was lost, a second *quaestores* had been put in after *urbanos*, and this eventually led to the loss of *ut crearentur alii quaestores*; (*alii* seems quite necessary) [Is not the insertion enough without removing the first *quaestores*? Such repetitions are characteristic of legal language. F. S.]

IV. 43. 5.

(On the question of the opening of the quaestorship to the plebeians.) *ut, quemadmodum in tribunis cons. pot. creandis† usi sunt adaeque† in quaestoribus liberum esset arbitrium populi.*

usi sunt might be corrected but the proposals hitherto made (except Gruter's ejection) do not seem to us happy; and they are the more unhappy for *adaeque* which does not seem at all likely to have arisen by corruption from *adaequari*, *adaequatum*, *adaequassent*, or any other part of that excellent verb. The adverb *adaeque* belongs to the *sermo uolgaris* and is found at least as late as Frontinus (see the Berlin Thesaurus), but it is not appropriate here; *usi sunt* for *fecerunt* also seems to belong to the same order of speech. As a matter of fact the words are not wanted but some pedantic readers like to round off every clause and make it snug and comfortable; fortunately they generally leave their finger-prints. But we do need a correlative to *quemadmodum*; for this *ita*, *sic*, or *sic quoque* would do, but *sic* is the more likely if we suppose that the loss of it between *creandis* and *in* was the cause of the addition. We

¹ Poor Cossus seems once more in trouble as in c. 20. (437 B.C.) about his consulship, and Livy does not say here that he too was created *trib. mil. ex consulari*. Anyhow if the *septimo anno* of c. 20. 8 is correct there may have been evidence for his consulship with Quinctius in 431 B.C. which Livy did not choose to credit or to follow. But we are inclined to suggest that XI. should be substituted for VII. in c. 20. 8, where *septimo* is equally incompatible with the consulship in 428 B.C. which the current text of c. 30. 4 gives him, so that Madvig writes at c. 20. 8 'Livius scribere debuit decimo.'

XI is slightly more likely than X to have been corrupted into VII.

² Such accidental omissions are extremely common at all periods; they are of course frequent in Puteanus (XXI-XXX); but in the first Decade observe that O proceeds from VI. 40. 1 to c. 40. 17 and at c. 41. 10 puts in the missing sections of c. 40.; Harl. 2684 in XXIX. 29. 6 puts *adfluetat—iuuenem* after *superabat*. And in truth no one of our codices is free from such errors, as will appear in our Critical Notes passim.

should read then : *ut, quemadmodum in tribunis consulari potestate creandis, sic in quaestoribus etc.* Incidentally we may remark that unconsciously we have again made a normal specimen of 'Livian interweaving'; for *creandis* as well as *liberum esset* goes with *arbitrium populi*. [Down to Apuleius *adaeque* is used in negative clauses only, see *Archiv. L. Lex.* VIII. 214. F. S.]

IV. 57. 6.

(Seruilius Ahala tr. mil. being appointed mag. eq. by the dictator P. Cornelius his former colleague) *exemplo fuit† collegas* (MDL: *collegis* PFUHEM²) *eumque intuentibus quam gratia atque honos opportunitiora interdum non cupientibus essent.*

For *collegas*, approved by Aldus and Gronovius, Alschefski's *collegis se* holds the field! But why should a snub to the 'pushing' be a warning to Ahala's colleagues only? If the meaning of *collegas* is not felt to be made sufficiently clear by the following *eum* (though we think it is), it would be permissible to suppose that *eius* has fallen out before *eumque*. Cf. with Gronovius XXII. 39. 3 *et collegam tuum et te talem uirum intuenti mihi*. [*eius* seems hardly necessary; otherwise I quite agree. F. S.]

IV. 58. 9.

(An enumeration of losses from the Volsci) *modo duo praesidia occidione occisa, †cum periculo retineri; nullum annum esse quo non acie dimicetur.*

alia and *cetera* have been supplied before *cum* but VMA² have *et cum*. It would appear that the name of some town has fallen out and *Ecetras* (cf. c. 59. 3) seems most likely as it is generally muddled into *et cetras* or worse.

IV. 60. 3.

(The demagogues, sulky at finding their agitation suspended and standing aloof from the 'communis ordinum laetitia concordiaque') *negare tam id laetum †patribus uniuersis† nec prosperum fore quam ipsi crederent.*

Here *partibus* is the reading of U, edd. uet., and Zingerle; Madvig ejects *patribus*; Crévier suggested *nec uniuersis prosperum*. Following him we suggest *patribus nec prosperum ciuibus uniuersis fore*, supposing that, by the loss of *nec prosperum ciuibus* after *patribus*, *uniuersis* became attached to *patribus* and *nec prosperum* was replaced wrongly and with the loss of *ciuibus*: just so we have in VIII. 30. 6 the loss of *permisit* by T² when filling up T's omission of a sentence.

BOOK V.

V. 2. 8.

(The tribunes, having for a long time found 'nullam nouandi res causam,' now fasten upon the 'perennem militiam' caused by the siege of Veii.) *Hoc neque reges neque . . . consules neque triste dictatoris imperium neque impor-*

tunos decemuiros iniunxisse seruitutis ut perennem militiam facerent, †*quod tribuni militum in plebe Romana regnum exercerent*.

Luterbacher wishes to remove the *ut—facerent* clause; Madvig offered *quod—exercent* as an interrogative clause! It seems better to eject the *quod—exercent* clause as a gloss; the whole phraseology is very suspicious, especially the *regnum exercerent*. The marginal comments and summaries which abound in M and have been copied from an earlier MS are constantly introduced by *quod*; e.g. at V. 21. 5, beside *Veientes ignari se iam a suis uatibus . . . proditos* the scribe of M has faithfully recorded in the margin an older comment (on the corrupt reading *signari*): '*quod antiqui se signari a suis uatibus passi sunt*.' We may thank fortune that this precious statement has not been inserted into our text of Livy.

V. 13. 12.

(The Capenates and Falisci trying to raise the siege of Veii are repulsed.) Repulsos deinde insecuti uictores ingentem ediderunt caedem; nec ita multo post iam †*palantes ueluti forte†* oblatis populatores Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae absumpsere.

Madvig emended to *palantibus* (or *palatis*) *uelut tuti forent*, and recent editors follow him. This is very neat but far from convincing, and unfortunately the MSS all have *palantes* not *palanti s* which might have come from *palanti b*'; again *palantes* is more suitable to the raiders. Anyhow the words *palantes ueluti* are best taken as a gloss either on *oblatis* or as an explanatory addition to *reliquias*; in either case the glossator wished to show that he knew the ways of foragers or of a broken army. The removal gives force to *iam forte* as antithetical to *insecuti uictores*, cf. IX. 31. 7 *captiui, quidam forte, pars consilio oblatis*. (It is also possible that the gloss was originally *palantes uel <pal>ati*.)

V. 17. 8.

(The Etruscans' excuse for not helping Veii.) *Maxime in ea parte Etruriae gentem inuisitatam nouos accolos, Gallos esse*.

This cannot be quite right as it stands, but need not be so wrong as to require Madvig's change of *maxime* etc. to *inuasisse in eam partem*, nor M. Müller's insertion of *consedisse* after *parte*. Luterbacher gives *maxima in parte*, on which we think *maxima iam in parte* is an improvement, both in meaning and in palaeography. Further we bracket *Gallos* as a gloss which only burdens the sentence. [By so doing you obtain *clausula optima accōlas ēssē*. F. S.]

V. 24. 8.

Ceterum partem plebi (plebis H and U) partem (partim H) senatus destinabant habitandos Veios.

This is the reading of the Nicomachians except that P has *a habitandos*.

U has *parte* in both places and H *ceteram*. The Veronese has *partim plebs* and *partim senatus*, and *habitando destina*. . . .

Rhenanus had proposed *partim plebi* and *partim senatui* (which Madvig follows) or *parte plebis* and *parte senatus*; Heerwagen gave *partim plebis* and *partim senatus* and *ad habitandos Veios*. We regard *Veios* as a gloss (whether V had it is uncertain), the addition of which caused the *habitandos* of the Nicomachians and perhaps the change of order, and we combine the Nicomachians with V and read *Ceterum partem plebis partem senatus habitando destinabant*. *Veios* is already at the end of the previous sentence and in the sentence we are dealing with it is neither necessary nor neat; and in O *habitandos Veios* is between points.

When the Veronese tradition got the two nominatives *plebs* and *senatus*, the adverbs *partim*—*partim* were bound to follow, and probably *destinabatur* was also V's reading. We might of course follow V and read *partim plebs partim senatus habitando destinabatur*; but it would make the Nicomachians very difficult to explain, especially in their *destinabant*, and they are more trustworthy than the Veronese, thanks to the scrupulous care of Symmachus and his son-in-law.

In our reading, for the dative with *destinare* cf. 'nostros operi destinatos' Caes. B. G. VII. 72. 2 (also Quint. II. 8. 8); for the absolute use of *habitare* cf. c. 30. 3 of this book, also Plaut. Cist. II. 3. 37 'auecta est peregre hinc habitatum' (so Trin. IV. 3. 77); finally for the active use of the gerund such phrases as *scribendo adfuerunt* and a number of examples collected by Tyrrell on Cic. Att. 7. 20. 2 and Reid on Acad. II. § 101, especially the regular Stoic phrases *nota* and *signum percipiendi* 'the indication which a thing gives us inwardly that we are really receiving it as a complete perception (not as a mere impression)'; Cic. Fin. I § 33 *optio eligendi* 'freedom of choice'; Tusc. V § 117 *aeternum receptaculum nihil sentiendi*, i.e. death; Livy XXXI. 21. 6 *spatium instruendi*; V. 27. 2 *lusus exercendique causa*.

V. 25. 4.

There is no warrant for *contionabundus* which all modern editors have adopted from a slip of Alschefski who ascribed it to M and P. We have not tested R and D here, but we can ourselves vouch for *contionabatur* as the reading of M P F O H L A; Häggström gives it as the reading of U, and Drakenborch makes no mention of any other reading.

V. 26. 7.

(Camillus before Falerii.) *Trifariam* Romani muniebant; alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat.

Of all the extraordinary emendations surely Heusinger's *triarii* is the most extraordinary; but it is more wonderful still that he should have imposed it on the texts. Would any general at a critical moment have been so foolish as to turn his best troops into sappers, or dare to do so at any time? Also why

Romani to define them? But apart from military questions it is plain that *more Camilli* (cf. c. 19. 11) the men are divided into three shifts, two for battle and one for the work of making a camp. In c. 19 there are six divisions working day and night in relays; so here there are three divisions working and standing to arms in turn as the Imperfects help to show.

The MSS are perfectly right: *trifariam* means 'on the principle of triple division,' cf. III. 22. 7 *trifariam adortus castra*.

V. 30. 4.

His adhortationibus †principes concitati †patres, senes iuuenesque etc.

Editors write with some later MSS *principis*; but we cannot believe that Livy would use *princeps* even of Camillus; it would be an anachronism. (Then imagine 'the thoroughly excited prince' as the schoolboy would of course translate it!) Keep *principes* but delete *patres* (unless *patrum* is preferred). Cicero (*Rep.* 2. 8. 14) writes 'principes qui appellati sunt propter caritatem patres.'

V. 31. 4.

Valerio quod perseuerantior †caedendi in fuga fuit triumphus.

How unlikely and how brutal! a triumph might have been given for completing the rout but for slaughtering—no, nor could Livy have said so. He didn't in fact; it is Scheller or Forchhammer who says this without apologising, as far as we know, even for his genitive. M has *gaedendis*, V *caed . . . dis*, M² O H L A have *cae(or ce)dendis*, P or P² F U *gerendis* (P at any rate paused a while and waited to consult his chief); *persequendis in hostibus* (cf. VI. 9. 11) is what we want, and this might have dropped out before *perseuerantior*. The nearest to the MSS that we can suggest is <*persequi*> *perseuerantior cedentes in fuga fuit*; but *in fuga* is better excised as a necessary gloss after the corruption had taken place. Of course the confusion of *cedendis* and *cedentis* is one which is frequently made in our MSS, probably through mishearing what was dictated.

V. 34. 8.

per Taurinos †saltusque Iuliae† (Iuriae H).

Madvig's excellent *per Taurinos saltus uallēque Duriae* is generally accepted, but P F and perhaps E have *alte* after Iuliae and U has *alta*; this rather points to *Taurinos saltus saltusque Duriae*. (*alt'* for *salt'* got in from the margin and was corrected to the case of *Iuliae*.)

V. 36. 10.

ne penes ipsos culpa esset cladis forte acceptae.

Madvig seems to have started the campaign against *forte* by writing *si forte*; then improvements (save the mark!) followed, *clades si forent*, *cladis si foret accepta*. Not only is *cladis forte acceptae* = *si forte clades accepta esset* perfectly sound (as *etiam uictis* in IX. 18. 4 = *etiam si uicti essent*); but here we have

actually *ne*, and no one would have objected to *ne forte penes ipsos etc.* even though *forte* belongs specially to *cladis acceptae*. Whence then ‘hi tanti motus animorum doctorum’?

V. 39. 6.

(Rome expects every moment the attack of the Gauls.) *omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos . . . ut identidem iam in urbem futurus uideretur impetus: primo aduentu (aduentus some cdd. Nicom.) quia (V; qui cdd. Nicom.) accesserant ad urbem—mansuros enim ad Alliam fuisse nisi hoc consilii foret—; deinde sub occasum solis quia haud multum diei supererat— ante noctem trati set (rati V) inuasuros—; tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse etc.*

The meaning is plain; ‘they expected the Gauls’ entry immediately they arrived (for otherwise why had they left the battlefield?); then on the approach of sunset—for of course they would attack before night; then this proving wrong, they said the enemy had adjourned the attack till night to cause greater panic.’

Madvig keeps *rati se*, but *se* as object is more than harsh; Luterbacher proposes *ratis* which is nearly as harsh; Zingerle boldly follows V with *rati*. If it is right at all, one would prefer *rati sun t* (i.e. $\overline{st}$), but it is more probably a needless gloss (as we consider *rogitantes* in IV. 58. 13, X. 13. 10, and X. 33. 3 to be) put in to make a construction. It is possible that Livy wrote *ante noctem* <*enim*> *inuasuros*, thus balancing *mansuros enim*: *enim* could easily drop out in this position.

V. 39. 11.

sacra publica . . . procul auferre nec ante deseri cultum eorum quam non superessent qui colerent.

Of course V has *deorum* and of course various editors want to follow it. Let us rather bethink us of Symmachus’ famous letter to Theodosius and his colleagues in which he pleads for the Vestals: his words are: ‘*hic cultus in leges meas (Rome is speaking) orbem redegit, haec sacra Hannibalem a moenibus, a Capitolio Senonas reppulerunt*’ (Epist. 10. 3. 9). *eorum* = *sacrorum publicorum*; the *cultus* and the *sacra* were so to speak more important in the Roman mind than the gods themselves. Symmachus himself may be said to support the descendants of the Symmachian recension. Let us hope that the good old pagan really did pass away in 402¹ and lived as little to see the Goth at the gates of Rome as he has lived to see later Goths at his Livy.

V. 46. 2.

Gabino cinctu V: Gabino cinctus cdd. Nicom.

The phrase seems to be invariably of this sort: *incinctus cinctu Gabino* (VIII. 9. 9) *incinctum Gabino cultu* (X. 7. 3) and Vergil (*Aen.* 7. 612) *cinctuque*

¹ L. and S. give ob. 420 but Sieck says 402. There are no letters after this date.

Gabino insignis; the abl. alone is rather harsh. So we combine the two readings and write *Gabino cinctu incinctus* (cf. on III. 67. 1 *supra*). [So Zingerle already; therefore we gladly give him our support and our reasons.]

V. 52. 1.

(Speech of Camillus against deserting Rome. Instances have been given of the rewards of impiety and of piety and he proceeds thus:) *haec culti neglectique numinis tanta monumenta* in rebus humanis cernentes equid sentitis?

All the MSS have *monumenta* except M which has *munimenta* (as O also wrote first; V is wanting). Glareanus and J. Perizonius seem to have approved of *momenta*, and one late MS appears to have it (probably by accident); modern editors have accepted it from Madvig (*Emend.* p. 149), but we cannot understand his objections nor the meaning he attaches to *momenta neglecti numinis* etc.; does he mean 'the influences,' i.e. 'the consequences,' something like the *momenta Leonis* (Hor. *Epist.* I. 10. 16), which is the nearest parallel we can find? If so, we prefer the *monumenta* of the codices. Camillus has just used *documento* and *admonuerunt* and proceeds to pass in review some of the most prominent features of Roman religion to which he could point his finger, mentioning especially the new temple ordered for Aius Locutius, 'the mysterious voice,' the neglect of which had laid the city in ruins. Madvig would have allowed *documenta*, an excellent word for the pulpit; but we humbly suggest that *monumenta* is the better word for Camillus and Camillus' historian with the memorials and associations of the eternal city all about them.

V. 54. 3.

(Camillus' speech.) *Equidem fatebor uobis etsi minus iniuriae uestrae [†quam meae calamitatis†] meminisse iuuat . . . cum abessem quotienscumque patria in mentem ueniret* etc.

meae is ejected by Madvig, and we need not go through the attempts, our own and others, to make sense of *quam meae calamitatis*. The words are surely nothing but the gloss of some reader who seeing a comparative must have a *quam* (cf. perhaps VII. 12. 5 and VIII. 36. 10) and forgot that *minus* sometimes means *non*. Cf. XXII. 9. 2 *haud minue* PC, *haud minus* C²M, where *minus* seems the right reading.

The choice is really between ejecting the bracketed words and saying *minus = non plus*. (To write <non> *minus* ironice is impossible.)

V. 54. 4 and 5.

The only change from the MSS we make here is to read with Alschevski *mari* for *mare*, putting a full-stop before *argumento*, though we have shrewd doubts about the authenticity of *ad commoditates*.

V. 54. 6.

(Camillus' speech.) quae . . . ratio est ~~t~~expertis alia experiri?After *expertis* P F U E insert *latos*, and O has a slight gap before *expertis* (where possibly h' [= haec] stood in the archetype).

The -*tos* of *latos* is almost certainly due to a dittography *expertis expertos* written *expertis uel tos*, and we incline to suppose the *la-* to be a corruption of *uel* (*ul̄*). Anyhow it is not unusual for complete words to be made out of these variants; e.g. XXII. 41. 8 *conuallem medium am* has been made into *conuallem medium amnem* (corrected by Madvig).

As to the main difficulty it requires only a Cockney to see that *ec* i.e. *haec* before *expertis* is all that is needed to complete the sense and also fill the gap left by O. The '*hic Capitolium . . . hic Iuventas Terminusque*' of § 7 supply all arguments necessary. Whibley suggested *ista* before and Novák the same after *expertis*, but this is not the best Latin for 'these great blessings,' since *iste* commonly has a depreciatory colour, nor is it so natural on the lips of an orator actually pointing to the objects about him. The word would be appropriate to describe the site of Veii rather than Rome.

R. S. CONWAY.

W. C. F. WALTERS.

MANCHESTER }
LONDON } June, 1910.

EDITORS' NOTICE.

AT the request of the Classical Journals Board we have undertaken for the present to edit this Journal. In so doing we confidently rely upon the co-operation of those who have hitherto been contributors, as well as of others who may be in a position to assist us.

It is contemplated that in future articles dealing with archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics will, by arrangement, be reserved for the Journals of Hellenic and Roman Studies respectively. Summaries of periodicals dealing with these subjects will therefore cease to appear in this Journal after the present number.

On behalf of the readers of the CLASSICAL QUARTERLY we desire to express to Mr. H. B. WALTERS and Mr. WARWICK WROTH our appreciation of the valued services they have rendered in this connection.

EDWARD V. ARNOLD.

F. W. HALL.

BANGOR }
OXFORD } December, 1910.

NOTES ON THE *CONTROVERSIAE* OF THE ELDER SENECA.

BOOK I.

CONTR. I. The characters of this declamation are two brothers, at deadly enmity with each other, and the son of one of them, who, when his uncle is reduced to beggary, supports him in spite of his father's prohibition. Disowned by the latter, he is adopted by his uncle, who presently grows rich—at the very moment when his brother loses everything. The young man again reveals his tender-heartedness, supports the unfortunate man in the face of his adopted father's orders, and is once more disowned. He pleads his case before a jury.

§ 2 'ipse' inquit 'me aluit.' imitationem alienae culpa^e innocentiam uocas?

The subject of *inquit* is the adopted father; the words *imitationem . . . uocas* form the son's reply. Modern editors read 'ipse . . . me ali uetuit,' with E. (MSS. which contain each controversy in an abridged form). This no doubt represents the actual facts, but although there is no doubt that the excerpts do enable us pretty often to emend the fuller MSS., they require very careful use, as they also very frequently make considerable changes in the actual words used by Seneca. Here I think the MSS. reading should be kept, except for the slight alteration involved by the insertion between *ipse* and *inquit* of the particle *enim*, often used to mark the irony of a statement or question: cp. e.g. I. 3. 1 'id enim derat, ut . . .,' 2. 3. 5 'uides enim : turpiter uiuo.'

§ 4 ego indicabo cur me abdicēs : tu indica cur adoptaueris. quaedam accedunt noua.

Here again the youth addresses his adopted father : the answer to each question is 'because I supported a man in distress,' and the implication is that the adopted father is not acting with much consistency. In the last clause Gronov and Schultingh substitute for *accedunt accidunt* and *acciderunt* respectively, the latter also changing *quaedam* to *quaenam*. Modern editors follow G., though I can see no force in the remark 'Some new things happen.' S.'s text at any rate intelligible, but I believe *accedunt* to be perfectly sound : cp. 3. 2 where it is claimed, ha. a Vestal who has survived the ordeal of being flung down a precipice for unchastity must face it again, and her prosecutor says : 'She was proved guilty before : quid postea accessit quod

illam uirginem faceret ?' In that passage, it is true, the perfect is used, but it does not seem to me essential, especially if we emend *-dam* of the pronoun to *-iam*. Read then *quae iam accedunt noua* ? 'what fresh circumstances are involved ?'

§ 6 *quid faciam ? qui alunt abdicantur, mendicant qui non alunt.*

Müller adopts for *mendicant uindicantur*, an emendation of Gertz's. But *mendicant* is perfectly intelligible. This youth's support, first of his uncle and then of his father, has in each case ended in his *abdicatio*. On the other hand, he has seen his father, who refused to give support, reduced to beggary, and such a fate may well befall *him* if he imitates such conduct. For the idea cp. § 16 where, explaining why he could not refrain from helping his father, he says 'stare ante oculos Fortuna uidebatur et dicere . . . *esuriunt qui suos non alunt.*' That the thought is the same here is, I think, shewn by the words that immediately follow : 'illud tamen deos testor : diuitem te relinquam,' in which the adopted father is evidently warned that Nemesis may make *him* poor too.

§ 7 'fratrem' inquit 'alere noluit.' inuenisti quod possem defendere.

I see no reason for the lacuna which Müller (after Trabandt) assumes after *noluit*. The two clauses seem to me to be intimately connected. The adopted father repeats the plea of § 2 : 'Well, *he* wouldn't help me when *I* was a beggar.' And the young man replies : 'You've thought of a charge on which I fancy I could clear him,' i.e. 'your present treatment of him shews you to possess a nature so base that he may have had some justification for *his* treatment of you.' Cp. what he says a few lines below, to the same person : 'Do you want to punish him thoroughly ? *senti*at quam bono fratri iniuriam fecerit,' 'heap coals of fire on his head' so to speak, and Sen. *Thy.* 514 where Thyestes, surprised at the apparently generous behaviour of his brother, says, in just the converse sense, 'pessimam causam meam | hodierna pietas (*sc.* Atrei) fecit.' Of course the argument that the exaction of a tooth for a tooth justifies the original operation is a childish one, but then such *sententiae* are quite common in the declamations and by no means confined to the cases in which Seneca himself affixes the label *puerilis*.

§ 23 audimus fratrum fabulosa certamina et incredibilia nisi nos fuissimus ; impias epulas, detestabili parricidio †futurum diem.

The reference is of course to the banquet of Thyestes. As none of the various conjectures (*furuum*, *fuscatum*, *funestum*) seem very satisfactory, I suggest *fugitium*. The loss of 'g' between vowels is common in these MSS.: *agit* and *ait* are constantly confused, and in 1. 7. 15 all MSS. have *fuisse* for *fugisse*. *Fuitium* would almost inevitably become *futurum*. For the (? military) metaphor cp. Sen. *Thy.* 836 sqq. (of this same portent) 'non aeternae facis exortu | dux astrorum saecula ducens | dabit aestatis brumaeque notas,' Mart. 3. 45. 1 'fugerit an Phoebus mensasque dapesque Thyestae | ignoro.'

CONTR. II. The subject of this declamation is similar to that of an episode in the story of Apollonius of Tyre, itself the source of a scene in *Pericles*. A maiden captured by pirates and sold to the keeper of a brothel manages to remain unmolested by those who visit her until the arrival of a certain soldier, whom she finds obdurate, but contrives to kill. Acquitted of the charge of murder she returns to her own country and there stands for the office of priestess. She is attacked, as unable to satisfy the conditions of the law, not being *casta e castis, pura e puris*.

§ 1 'si nihil aliud, certe osculatus est te quisquis †puram putauit.'

The argument is that even if she was successful in persuading everyone to spare her honour, this very pleading involved a certain departure from virginal modesty. The thought is clearly stated in § 7 'cum deprecaberis intrantis amplexus, ut alia omnia impetrares, osculum erogasti:' cp. § 12 'haesisti in complexu, oscula pacta es: ut ('even if') felicissima fueris, pro pudicitia impudice rogasti.'

'Puram' is obviously wrong, and the emendations 'spurcam' 'impuram' do not seem to me to give a clear, pointed sense. I suggest 'stuprum,' and 'petiuit' for 'putauit.' As regards the former change, in § 2 of the next *Controversia* the two best MSS. have for 'stupro' an abbreviated form 'spro,' doubtless a relic of their archetype. When once the last letter of 'quisquis' had absorbed the initial letter of 'sprum,' the change of 'prum' to 'purum' or 'puram' ('a' and 'u' being one of the commonest interchanges of our MSS.) would not be difficult, especially in a declamation where the adjective is not uncommon and is indeed contained in the law on which the case turns. As for 'petiuit,' we have 'puto' for 'peto' in all MSS. in 1. 5. 2 and in Quint. *Decl.* 254 (p. 42 R) I feel sure that *ultionem putauit* stands for *ult. petiuit*.

§ 20 'licet illam ponatis in lupanari: et per hoc illi intactam pudicitiam efferre contigit. Fuit in loco turpi, probroso: leno illam prostituit, populus adorauit.'

The girl's advocate is emphasizing the way in which his client has passed unharmed through every imaginable ordeal. Here he says, or is made to say, 'You can put her in a brothel: well, she has kept her honour even there.' For him then to proceed: 'she has been in—a brothel (*loco turpi, probroso*)' seems to me hopelessly feeble. But these words become forcible enough if we read in the previous clause *continget*. First the prophecy 'Put her in a brothel, and she will keep pure,' then the stronger statement of fact: 'She has been in one, and escaped unharmed.' My suggestion is, I think, confirmed by the fact that the next passage is framed on just these lines: 'An assailant armed with a sword may shake even resolute chastity: my client's *will* not waver. Perhaps you think I'm promising too much for her. *Iam praestitit*, she's done it already.'

I notice that at the end of the passage which I have been discussing

Müller adopts Gertz's conjecture 'aduolauit' for 'adorauit.' I see no objection to the MSS. reading: cp. § 17 'narrate sane omnes tamquam ad prostitutam uenisse, dum tamquam a sacerdote discesserint': 'I don't mind how much stress you lay on their having come to her as a wanton, provided you admit that they came away as if they had been with a priestess.' The train of thought is similar to that of the two gentlemen in *Pericles* 4. 5 'But to have divinity preached there! Did you ever dream of such a thing?' 'No, no. Come, . . . shall's go hear the vestals sing.'

ib. 'multum potest ad rectum quoque pudici animi propositum hostis cum gladio.'

Rectum in itself seems otiose enough, as the 'resolve of a chaste mind' would naturally be righteous. That it should be emphasized by the addition of *quoque* seems to me absolutely impossible, and I propose to read for it 'certum': 'even when it is firm and fixed.'

CONTR. III. This is the case of the Vestal, to which I referred under I. § 4. To her plea that her escape argues divine interposition due to her innocence Triarius replied: 'Don't consider that you have escaped punishment: it is only adjourned (*ampliata*).' Cestius objected to the use of this technical word:

§ 9 'ea ipsa' inquit 'ampliatio quae apud iudices fieri solet, ex qua uerbum in sententiam petitum est, non est damnantis, sed dubitantis.'

This is the reading of the MSS., which I translate: 'The regular legal term for adjournment, from which he gets the word for his epigram, implies doubt not certainty,' illustrating by Quint. 8. 5. 20 'illae (*sententiae*) semper uitiosae sunt: a uerbo' (i.e. *sententiae* based on the use of a word with some special, allusive force: he instances the exordium, written doubtless by some injured father, '*Patres conscripti—sic enim incipiendum est mihi ut memineritis patrum*') and Sen. himself, 9. 2. 21 illi (*sc.* declaimers) qui uoluerunt omnia legitima supplicii uerba in sententias trahere.' The change to *in sententia* made by modern editors seems to me unnecessary and feeble.

CONTR. IV. A 'uir fortis,' who has lost both hands in battle, surprises his wife and her paramour. He calls in vain on his son to kill them, and they escape. The son is disowned and on his raising protest the case is argued. The father speaks first, and describes in detail the indifference and derision with which the guilty pair received him and the passive attitude adopted by his son.

§ 2 steti deprensus ab adulteris meis: patris desertor, matris leno (i.e. the son) tertius in cubiculo derisor stetit.

For *deprensus* the modern editors (after Wachsmuth) read *derisus*, to which of course some colour is given by the *tertius derisor* of the next clause.

It is not however in any way necessary for this phrase to be immediately preceded by a reference to the derisive attitude of the guilty parties, for this, as I mention above, has been fully treated in the previous section. And the MSS. reading is not merely intelligible but supplies the sentence with a thoroughly typical silver point—an inversion. The *natural* way to use the verb ‘deprendere’ in such a context was of course that in which it bore the sense ‘catch *in flagrante delicto*’ (cp. the lemma: ‘adulterum cum adultera qui dependerit’), but the declaimer by using it in the less obvious sense of ‘catch unprepared’ (cp. 3. pr. 6 ‘utilius erat illi deprendi quam praeparari,’ Sen. *Ep.* 18. 8 ‘imparatos Fortuna deprenat’) produces something very akin to a paradox: ‘It was not I who caught them: they caught me,’ ‘it was I who looked foolish, not they.’ Cp. § 1 where the soldier says ‘Maimed as I am, it was only in my own house that I *CAPi potui*.’

§ 11 P. Vinicius et pulchre dixit et noue †sumpsit ab hominibus bene dictae: ‘inrupi in cubiculum. quid mentior miser? aperto cubiculo expectabant adulteri.’

Müller adopts Schultingh’s ‘sumpsit ab omnibus bene dicta,’ punctuating the clause as a parenthesis. But (1) is not some connecting particle (*enim*?) badly needed, (2) how can the fact that V. took everyone’s good points justify our saying that he *dixit noue*, and (3) does, as a matter of fact, his sentence embody the essence of everyone’s good points? It does not, but it is a setting of a point made by most of the declaimers, the indifference of the couple when discovered. I take it, then, that S. lays stress on V.’s having given this a new setting, and suggest accordingly ‘P. V. et pulchre dixit et noue sensum ab omnibus bene dictum,’ and cp. 1. 1. 25 ‘Euctemon dixit noue et amabiliter illum . . . ab omnibus uexatum sensum: . . .’ (the quotation that originally followed has unfortunately fallen out in the MSS.). The corruption of ‘sensus’ is certainly striking: it looks as if the first letter of ‘ssum’ got in some way transposed to the end of the word (*sums* = *sumpsit*). The evolution of ‘dictum’ into ‘dictae’ or as the early MSS. doubtless read ‘dicte’ is easily explained: the ‘m’ once absorbed by the ‘in-’ of ‘inrupi,’ ‘u’ became ‘a,’ and ‘a’ in its turn ‘e’ (both changes being well represented in our MSS.).

I must add that as it seems feeble to say that V. said ‘pulchre’ what others said ‘bene,’ I am much inclined to read for the latter adverb ‘paene.’

CONTR. VI. This is one of the romantic declamations. A young man whose father has failed to ransom him from pirates is saved by the pirate-chief’s daughter. They escape together and on reaching home he fulfils an oath he has taken to marry her. But presently his father bids him divorce the girl and set himself free for a wealthy bride. Refusal is punished by *abdicatio*.

In discussing the general treatment of the theme by the various declaimers Seneca says:

§ 11 omnes honestam mentem¹ puellae dederunt, omnes dixerunt eam misericordia motam, non amore.

There must be something wrong with *non amore*. For in the first place Seneca, having occasion (§ 9) to mention that one Hispo represented the girl as influenced, not by love of the young man, but by hate for her father, adds the comment 'uoluit illi et amoris commendationem detrahere,' thereby making it clear that (as one would expect in this modern version of the story of Jason and Medea) love *was* generally assumed to have actuated the maiden. And we know from the same section that Latro for one spoke of her as impelled 'non misericordia, sed libidine.' The context too in our passage shews plainly that the word after *non* must denote a motive that is not compatible with *mens honesta*, some such thing as 'calculation,' 'selfish (or "mercenary") motive.' Compare the words immediately following it: 'solus Pollio iudicio fecisse uult' (i.e. in order to get away from her present surroundings).

Of course *non* (ñ) may be a mere corruption of *uel* (occasionally written ū). It seems however to me more probable that *amore* is due to an abbreviation of *ambitione*. 'N' and 'r' are pretty often confused in our MSS., and I have noticed several errors that suggest a tendency on their part to confuse words that could hardly be confused unless one of the pair was written in an abbreviated form: 1. 6. 4 'moribus' for 'maior-,' 2. 1. 3 'negabit' for 'nauig-' (the converse in 1. 7. 13), *ib.* 24 'hos' for 'honoris,' 2. 2. 5 'diuinatione' for 'diuisione.'

It may be argued against my conjecture that, according to Seneca himself (§ 9), a certain declaimer named Buteo *did* bring a charge of *ambitio* against the girl, or rather her father (whom he represented as acting in collusion with her!): 'illam esse honestam condicionem nuptiarum inuentam.' My answer would be that Seneca's memory, as he himself tells us, was not what it had been: that he has forgotten Buteo's attitude by the time he reaches § 11 is clear from his statement there to the effect that Pollio was the only declaimer who represented the girl as acting *consilio*.

CONTR. VII. A young man, captured by pirates, writes home for his ransom. But he has deeply offended his father by killing his own two brothers, one as a tyrant, the other as the paramour of his own wife. The old man writes back offering the pirates twice what is asked if they will cut off his son's hands. Released unharmed, he returns home and, finding his father a beggar, refuses to support him, and is prosecuted.

§ 8 testor, iudices, omnes ciues meos: una seruiuimus, nemo tyrannidem me uno sensit magis. argumentum habeo maximum, quod uiuo: non pepercissetis mihi si putassetis me patrem tyranni.

The father is speaking and is trying to counteract the effect of the invidious references which have been made to the fact that one of his sons has been a

¹ The MSS. 'matrem,' but as there is absolutely not a word about the girl's mother in either lemma or declamation I regard Thomas's emendation as certain.

tyrant. The word *patrem* has been a good deal suspected and emended (*fautorem, partem, patronum*), but I believe it to be sound. The use of a word of this kind in an emphatic sense to mean 'all that the word connotes,' 'the character, feelings of a . . .' is very common in the declamations and indeed silver writing in general. Cp. e.g. 9. 5. 11 'auum distuleram, accusatorem exclusi,' 'as their grandfather, I asked him to defer his visit, as my accuser I refused him admittance,' 2. 3. 5 'inter reum et patrem ("my position as . . .") distrahor.' Here I think *patrem* means practically 'having any affection for,' though it may be used more vaguely in the sense 'one who had been enjoying all the privileges a (tyrant's) father would expect.'

§ 9 non opus est tibi magna impensa ad sustinendum patrem: †magnā omnia sunt; tu mecum alimenta partire.

I do not understand the meaning of Gertz's 'magna mihi omnia sunt,' adopted though it is by Müller. The context seems to require a clause to the effect that his needs are strictly limited, and this force can be gained by reading *in angusto omnia sunt*.¹ cp. for the phrase *in angusto* Sen. *Ep.* 55. 11 'in angusto uiuebamur si quidquam esset cogitationibus clusum' ('how limited a life were ours'), 7. 3. 3 'in quam angusto domus meae fortuna posita est' ('how limited a choice': he goes on to say 'aut patri pereundum est aut filio'), and for the application of this adjective to means of life, etc. L. and S. 11 D and Sen. *Ep.* 18. 11 *aliquem anguste pascere*. It will be observed that the 'm' of 'magnā' may come from the end of the preceding word: I presume of course that the 'us' of 'angusto' was represented by some abbreviation.

§ 16 usus sum consilio: sciebam piratas . . . esse . . . auaros. uolui efficere ut et desperarent posse illum redimi et propter hoc superuacuum †et cum futurum dimitterent.

Modern editors simply omit the words 'et cum,' Gertz suggests 'et onus.' I believe he has got the sense of the decayed word, but propose as perhaps nearer to the remains 'et grauem.' For the sense, cp. Sen. *Ep.* 42. 5 'non cogitabat quam onerosa essent, etiamsi superuacua non essent.' The confusion of 'c' and 'g' is very common in these MSS., so that one would expect *guem* or *gum* to become 'cum' without much difficulty.

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¹ Whether *ei* or *mihi* or *mea* is really needed as well I think uncertain. The pronouns are omitted very boldly at times in these declamations.

SOPHOCLEA.

IV.

PHILOCTETES.

83. νῦν δ' εἰς ἀναιδὲς ἡμέρας μέρος βραχὺ
 δός μοι σεαυτόν.

Cf. Aeschines *Ctes.* 148, περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας μικρῷ μέρει διαγωνιέται, 'mirrored,' says Prof. R. B. Richardson *ad loc.*, 'in Plut. *Dem.* 20, ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας,' Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* v 24, ὅσι' ἂν πράττοιτε φειδόμενοι τούτων βραχὺ μέρος ἡμέρας, where the context shews the meaning to be 'a small part of a day,' not 'a little day,' Lucian *Hermotimus* 54, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν κεφαλαιώδη ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ μορίῳ ἡμέρας, 56, ὅρα μὴ οὐχὶ μορίου ἡμέρας ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν δέηται, where again the meaning is decisively 'part of a day.' The Aeschines passage is not quite so clear, but certainly is naturally taken in the same way.

It is very unlikely that these are reminiscences of Sophocles. Suppose they are, it follows that these authors thought ἡμέρας μέρος βραχὺ meant 'part of a day,' not 'a whole day, which is a small part of life.' Suppose they are not, it follows that such phrases were familiar in the sense of a small part of a day. Anyhow they are very greatly in favour of so taking the words in Sophocles.

If so, we are driven to translating εἰς ἀναιδὲς with Blaydes 'to shamelessness,' which hardly seems possible, or to adopting, with Tyrrell, Housman's εἰς ὄνειδος. My brain tells me the last is right, but I confess my heart is in the coffin there with ἀναιδὲς, and whenever I read the 'divinum drama' I stick to it.

147. οὐκ, whether right or wrong, should be attributed to Linwood.

186. λιμῷ τ' οἰκτρός, ἀνήμεστα μερι-
 μνήματ' ἔχων· βαρεῖ-
 α δ' ἀθυρόστομος κ.τ.λ.

By comparison of the strophe it appears that the last of these lines must begin with a long syllable. Mekler accordingly reads ὀρεία for βαρεῖα, by which he only shews himself ignorant of the very rudiments of Greek verse,

and Jebb and Shuckburgh innocently follow him. It is a scandal that it should be necessary to explain at this time of day that

μνήματ' ἔχων· ὀρεΐ-
α δ' ἀθυρόστομος

cannot correspond to

δύσμορος ἀντέχει;
ὦ παλάμαι θεῶν.

But as it seems to be necessary, here the explanation is. If there is synaphea between the two lines, the last syllable of ἀντέχει is short; if there is not, ὀρεΐα cannot straddle across from one line to the other. Should anyone invoke the powers of hiatus, one can only say that scholars are not in the habit of introducing hiatus by conjecture into Greek lyrics.

Hermann's βάρη, ἅ, Boeckh's βαρεῖ, ἅ will at least scan, but Linwood's 'mirum quantum languent' is a true criticism of them. For Schiller's βορᾶς no criticism would be adequate. Perhaps a careful consideration of the context may lead to something more satisfactory. Philoctetes is cast out alone, στικτῶν ἢ λασίων μέτα | θηρῶν (how beautiful is that μέτα, suggesting the companionship he lacked!), suffering pain of body, suffering pangs of hunger, ἀνήκεστα μεριμνήματ' ἔχων—do you not see what *must* follow? What is left after ὀδύναι and λιμός? Affliction of *heart*, φρεσίν (better than φρενός, φρενῶν or φρενί and nearer the MSS.). If written φρεσί (and there being no synaphea the ν is not required), φρεσια might be corrected by a well-intentioned copyist into βαρεΐα, and at any rate is as near it as is ὀρεΐα.

No doubt μεριμνήματα does already give the mental aspect of his sufferings, but φρεσί seems to me (στέργοντι ὥσπερ τέκνον) to improve it.

491. Τραχινίαν τε δειράδα καὶ τὸν εὖροον
Σπερχειόν.

Porson's δειράδ' ἥ seems still the most probable correction. Jebb's δειράδ' ἥδ' ἐς εὖροον obliterates the elegant idiom by which the article is added to the second of two nouns with an attribute. See Cholmeley on Theocritus xv. 58.

Certainly δειράδα here has also an attribute grammatically speaking, but poetically it has none, for Τραχινίαν δειράδα is merely equal to a proper name, and the effect is the same as Τραχίνα καὶ τὸν εὖροον Σπερχειόν.

827. "Υπν' ὀδύνας ἀδαῆς "Υπνε δ' ἄλγεος,
εὐαῆς ἡμῖν ἔλθοις,
εὐαίων εὐαίων, ὦναξ·
ὄμμασι δ' ἀντίσχοις
τάνδ' αὔγλαν ἃ τέταται τὰ νῦν.

'La perfection est telle que les mots manquent devant cette beauté accomplie.' So well says Psichari of these miraculous lines, but it is impossible to accept his explanation of the last two. A point about them which appears to have escaped the commentators is this. In 825 Neoptolemus has said:

'Let us leave him in peace, that he may fall on sleep.' Philoctetes therefore is not yet asleep when the Chorus begin their song. And that is clear from their own words also, for they could not pray to Sleep to come if he was there already, and they go on praying till 832. In 833 they see that he is actually asleep at last and change their tone accordingly. But if this is so, and I do not see how it can be denied, the current explanations of *τάνδ' αἴγλαν ἃ τέταται τὰ νῦν* are all swept away at once; Philoctetes not yet being asleep this 'brightness now present' cannot mean the darkness of sleep as some say, nor the light of dreams as others, nor a bandage as Welcker would have us believe. Consider too the verb *τέταται*, and remember the *φάος* which *τέταται* over the last root of the house of Oedipus. Nobody can doubt what that means; it is the ray of light which gleams out of a stormy sky, Milton's 'long-levelled rule of streaming light.' Plato *Rep.* 616 B, *τεταμένον φῶς εὐθύ*.

The metaphor then seems to me to be that of a beam of light directed against the eyes of the sufferer. Here as in *Antigone* the light stands for comfort and consolation. No doubt it is strange to represent Sleep as working his will by means of light, but it seems the only possible way of taking the words. Compare *Paradise Lost* viii. 457,

'Daz'd and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
Of sleep.'

But Adam was overcome by 'excessive bright' perhaps, whereas the radiant emanation of Sleep is of a soothing and gentle kind.

(*ἀλγεος* Hermann for *ἀλγέων*, a dactyl being necessary; cf. Theocritus xxvii 25. *εὐαῆς* MSS., which should be kept; it is the antistrophe that needs correction, and the second syllable of *εὐαῆς* should not be shortened by conjecture without a shred of evidence of its possibility, for Euripides *frag.* 775, 34 is manifestly corrupt; qu. *εὐαέσσιν* for *εὐαέσιν*?)

972.

*νῦν δ' ἄλλοισι δοὺς
οἷς εἰκὸς ἔκπλει, τὰμά μοι μεθεῖς ὄπλα.*

Dindorf's *οἷ' εἰκός* is about the most certain correction ever made in Sophocles. 'Render to others the things that are others', but give back to *me* what is *mine*.' Or in other words, 'give others what you like, but give me my bow.' Nothing could be better. Of course Philoctetes does not mean that Neoptolemus is necessarily to give anybody else anything; it is a rhetorical figure, like *οἷ τ' ὄντες οἷ τ' ἀπόντες* and the rest of them.

But there is yet one defect left; *μοι* is not strong enough, and see the Scholiast, *τὰ ἐμὰ ἐμοὶ δοὺς*. Evidently Sophocles wrote *τὰμ' ἐμοί*.

1003. *ξυλλάβετέ γ' αὐτόν*, the reading of A, is obviously right. *Electra* 411, *συγγένεσθέ γ' ἀλλὰ νῦν*.

1092.

εἴθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω.

The previous line ends with a dactyl, *ἐλπίδος*, and consequently this line must begin with a vowel. The corresponding line is *ἰδοίμαν δέ νιν*. Did not

the poet say *ἐν αἴθρα δ' ἄνω*? The rare *αἴθρα* was sure to be corrupted to *αἰθέρι*.

1130.

ἦ που ἔλκινον ὀράς, φρένας εἴ τινας
ἔχεις, τὸν Ἡράκλειον
ἄθλιον ὧδε σοὶ
οὐκέτι χρησόμενον τὸ μεθύστερον,
ἀλλ' ἐν μεταλλαγᾷ
πολυμηχάνου ἀνδρὸς ἐρέσσει.

So MSS. admittedly corrupt in two places. First τὸν Ἡράκλειον ἄθλιον is clearly wrong, but I do not think Erfurdt's ἄρθμιον helps, for ἄρθμιον is not a noun, nor is the expression strong enough if it were. Tyrrell is on the right track with Ἡρακλείῳ ἄθλῳ τῷδε σοί, but has by no means reached the goal. The spondee ἄθλῳ is surely impossible, nor does τῷδε commend itself, for the bow was far away, and who ever heard of τῷδε σοί together? But there is another form of ἄθλον which may get rid of these objections. If we had before us Ἡρακλείῳ ἀεθλίῳ ὧδε σοί we should feel no difficulty about it, except perhaps for the crasis of the first two syllables of ἀεθλίῳ. I take it that it was accordingly written ἀθλίῳ, either by the poet himself or by an early copyist, and then misunderstood, and we may write it either way we please ourselves. There are other crases much bolder in Sophocles, ἐᾷ, ἔως, δυοῖν (*O. T.* 640, rightly defended by Tyrrell), Κρέων, Ῥέας.

I confess to not much liking ὧδε; I suppose Philoctetes struck an appropriate attitude, and if one writes for the stage one must allow such things.

Now for corruption the second. ἀλλ' ἐν μεταλλαγᾷ should correspond to ἐμᾶς σαρκὸς αἰόλας. We expect then a short syllable to begin the line, and Sophocles is full of choral 'responsions,' so is not the simple and obvious remedy to read ἔμ', ἀλλ' ἐν μεταλλαγᾷ? That gives a good and emphatic contrast between the old and the new master of the bow, keeps all the letters of the MSS., and enables ἀλλὰ to follow the negative as one would expect.

V.

AJAX.

257.

οὐκέτι· λαμπρᾶς γὰρ ἄτερ στεροπῆς
ἄξας ὄξυς νότος ὥς λήγει.

Jebb's latest view of this passage is certainly the correct one. Cf. Hippocrates, vol. i., p. 608. ὁ δὲ νότος . . . πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἄρχεται τὸν ἥερα ξυνεστεῶτα τήκειν καὶ διαχέειν, καθότι καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς πνέει μέγας ἀλλὰ λαγανίζει πρῶτον, ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ ἥερος αὐτίκα, τοῦ πρόσθεν πυκνοῦ τε ἑόντος καὶ ξυνεστηκότος, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ διαλύει. This shews a very divergent view of the south wind from that of Sophocles, as he used to be commonly interpreted. But he never meant to say that Ajax has subsided as the south

wind does 'when it has rushed up without the lightning's glare.' As if it was not just a thunder-storm that comes up quickly! If an ordinary south wind blows without thunder, we see from Hippocrates that it does *not* rush up suddenly, οὐκ εὐθὺς πνέει μέγας. But a sudden thunder-storm does do so and then subsides again. What Sophocles means then is plain enough. Ajax broke out violently, ἄξας ὀξύς, like a squall from the south *with* lightning; he now subsides, like the squall, *without* lightning, when the electric disturbance is over. What misled so many commentators is again the hypallage of the simile with its subject, and if the condensed phrase be expanded it will run thus: ἄξας ὀξύς ὥς νότος μετὰ στεροπῆς, λήγει ἄτερ μανίας ὥς νότος λήγει ἄτερ στεροπῆς. Punctuate therefore after στεροπῆς and after ὀξύς, or after ὥς.

334.

ἢ οὐκ ἠκούσατε

Αἶαντος οἶαν τήνδε θοῦσσει βοήν;

The point of this lies in an allusion to the military sense of βοήν. Ajax was βοήν ἀγαθός if ever man was; how piteous to hear him utter such a βοή as *this*! Sophocles several times throws emphasis of this kind on ὅδε. So in 93 Ajax will crown Athena 'for *this* hunting,' though he may have neglected to honour the gods for others, as suggested in 176.

496.

ἦ γὰρ θάνης σὺ καὶ τελευτήσας ἀφῆς.

ἦ (ἡμέρα) Bothe, *ei* L, ἦν A. But Γ has *ei* γὰρ θανεῖ σὺ καὶ τελευτήσεις ἀφείς. Whatever the right reading may be, that of Bothe is wrong. Sophocles uses the subjunctive without ἄν often enough, but he only uses it in sentences of special kinds.

I. General sentences. (α) With some part of ὅς or ὅστις, O. T. 1231, O. C. 229, 395, Aj. 761, Ph. 1360, El. 771, 1060, Tr. 251, frag. 593 (in a simile), 615, 617, 738, 753, 757. (β) With ἕως or πρίν, Aj. 555, 965, Tr. 148, 946. (γ) With ἔνθα, O. T. 317, Aj. 1074, ὅπου, Aj. 1081, ἐπεὶ, O. C. 1226, Ant. 1025, *ei*, O. T. 198, 874, Ant. 710.

II. Future clauses with πρίν, Aj. 742, Ph. 917, Tr. 608, ἕως, Ph. 764, ἔστε, Aj. 1183, εἰς ὅσον, Ph. 1076, ὅφρα (so long as), El. 225. It is to be observed moreover that in every single one of these passages except the last the subjunctive clause depends on an imperatival clause. This is very curious and a result quite unexpected by me; but cp. Monro *Hom. Gr.* § 297.

III. There is one instance of a deliberative subjunctive after *ei*, O. C. 1443, εἰ σοῦ στερηθῶ (not εἴ σου, surely).

These figures are according to Jebb's latest text.¹ I omit of course the spurious Aj. 571, and must now consider two other lines where Jebb has a false reading. Aj. 812, ἄνδρα γ' ὃς σπεύδῃ θανεῖν; this is ridiculous, for the meaning is not *whoever*, but 'Ajax, seeing that he is bent on death.' No poet of any age or dialect could put that in the subjunctive. And A reads σπεύδει, L ὃς ἂν σπεύδῃ! Again at Trach. 1009 ἀνατέτροφας ὅτι καὶ μύση is uncon-

¹ Except the fragments, for which I depend on Campbell.

struable; it could only mean 'whatever is hushed at any time,' not 'whatever is now hushed.' It is true that Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1416) writes ἵν' ἔλθῃς μὴ μάτην, 'that you may not have come here for nothing,' that δέδοικα μὴ κατακτάνῃ at *Rhes.* 863 means 'I fear he has killed' (cf. *Iliad* x. 538, xviii. 8, xxii. 456, in which passages I think the aorist subjunctive has this past force); but then the mood in all these places is properly governed. But here ὅτι καὶ μύσῃ labours under difficulties of both mood and tense together. Linwood reads μύσαι, but that will not do either. Evidently Sophocles wrote ἀνατέτροφας ὃ τι κάμυσσε or κάμυσεν.

Sophocles therefore uses such subjunctives without ἄν in a very restricted manner; and in particular he only uses them with a relative if the statement is general. This is the correct Homeric usage. An instance of a debased and degraded use is to be found in Eurip. *Electra* 972, if the reading there be genuine, ὅπου δ' Ἀπόλλων σκαιὸς ἦ, τίνες σοφοί; Mr. Keene remarks on this that 'ὅπου ἄν would of course give a meaning quite unsuitable here.' But it has not occurred to him that ὅπου ἦ means exactly the same thing; there is no difference whatever of meaning between ὅς ἦ and ὅς ἄν ἦ, only the one is the normal Homeric and the other the normal Attic. But Mr. Keene is quite right in saying that it is unsuitable, and either Euripides is using an archaism wrongly, or else ἦν should be read for ἦ, and if you consider the context attentively I think you will see that ἦν is right.

These considerations have led us far from *Aj.* 496. It is clear that Linwood was well advised in refusing to accept Bothe's ἦ, but it is not so clear what ought to be done. εἰ θάνῃς is perhaps just defensible as a deliberative on the strength of *O. C.* 1443, but it is more reasonable to take ἦν from A. The reading of Γ looks like a correction of εἰ θάνῃς, and it makes the end of the line deplorably weak.

599. 'παλαιὸς ἀφ' οὗ χρόνος. This phrase takes the place of an adverb with εὐνῶμαι, or whatever is the principal verb.'—Campbell.

The following parallels may be of some interest in addition to *Phil.* 493, and Isocrates v. 47, already given by Jebb. Plato *Critias* 111 C, τῶν γὰρ ὁρῶν ἔστιν ἃ νῦν μὲν ἔχει μελίτταις μόναις τροφήν, χρόνος δ' οὐ πάμπολυς ὅτε δένδρων αὐτόθεν εἰς οἰκοδομήσεις τὰς μεγίστας ἐρεψίμων τμηθέντων στεγάσματ' ἔστιν ἔτι σᾶ. (Here χρόνος οὐ πάμπολυς ὅτε is equivalent to an adverb going with τμηθέντων, but Stallbaum not seeing the construction introduced the miserable corruption ἔστη ἔτι σᾶ, and the Zürich editors punctuate wrongly. Cf. Hdt. iv. 124, τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σᾶα ἦν.) [Demosth.] iv. 3, ἡλικίην ποτ' ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων (ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς). Lucian *Dial. Mer.* x. 1, οὐ γὰρ ἐώρακα (πολὺς ἤδη χρόνος) αὐτὸν παρ' ὑμῖν. Julian *Εῤῥ.* 408 B, καὶ ταύτης ἠρξαν, ὥς φασι, τῆς καινοτομίας ἑβδομος οὗτος ἐνιαυτός. It is interesting to observe how the relative ends by being dropped altogether.

1411.

ἔτι γὰρ θερμαὶ
σύριγγες ἄνω φυῶσι μέλαν
μένος.

‘As Ajax must now have been dead for about an hour, the thing described seems impossible.’—Jebb. Whatever σύριγγες may be, this is a true criticism. But what are they? Campbell and Jebb both say ‘arteries,’ and talk about the arteries being supposed to contain air. This is an anachronism. There is no evidence that anybody before Erasistratus thought any such thing. Aristotle distinguishes between veins and arteries in respect of structure, but believes both to have the same function. Galen attacks Erasistratus for saying the arteries contain air; this implies that nobody before him said so. Plato, who got his physiology from Hippocrates, knows nothing about it, nor is there anything of the sort in the Hippocratic corpus.¹

As Empedocles (344; Diels p. 200 l. 15) has been invoked in this connexion, we must consider him also.

ὦδε δ' ἀναπνέει πάντα καὶ ἐκπνέει· πᾶσι λίφαιμοι
σαρκῶν σύριγγες πύματον κατὰ σῶμα τέτανται,
καὶ σφιν ἐπὶ στομίοις πυκναῖς τέτρηνται ἄλοξι
ρίων ἔσχατα τέθρα διαμπερές, ὥστε φόνον μὲν
κεύθειν, αἰθέρι δ' εὐπορίην διόδοισι τετμήσθαι.

‘The epithet “bloodless” points,’ says Jebb, ‘to the reason why the ancients took the arteries for air-passages.’ As we have already seen, this is a confusion of different periods of speculation, and besides ‘it is plain from the context and from Aristotle’s paraphrase that by λίφαιμοι Empedocles does not mean absolutely bloodless but partially so’ (Ogle, *Aristotle on Youth and Old Age, etc.*, p. 119). Empedocles certainly implies that these σύριγγες do contain blood; it is the ἄλοκες which are set upon them that are too fine to admit the blood. So that whatever the σύριγγες may have been, Empedocles lends no support to the theory that in Sophocles they are arteries. And I think Ogle was right when he suggested (p. 21) that ‘the terminal pores of the vessels, which alternately admit and discharge air with the ebb and flow of the blood-tide, were the orifices of the sweat-glands, visible at times to the naked eye in the palms of the hands.’

Besides the advocates of this theory forget that they say in one breath that the arteries of Ajax are sending out blood, and that there is no blood in the arteries.

The truth probably is that Sophocles knew of no distinction between veins and arteries, and that, even if he did, he held both to contain blood. But this does not show that the σύριγγες are not arteries; on the contrary, now that we have got rid of the air theory, they are more likely to be so than before,

¹ This error is to be found perpetually in modern books, e.g. Leaf on *Iliad* xiii. 546, *British Medical Journal*, Aug. 13, 1910, p. 384. I am deeply grieved to see it imported into Aristotle

himself, *Hist. An.* III. iii. 7, in D'Arcy Thompson's recent translation. See further Ogle on *de Partibus* III. v. 1.

if it were not for the verb *φυσῶσι*. This surely shows that the poet must be thinking of the lungs; the *σύριγγες* are the trachea and the bronchial passages in general; Ajax was stabbed through the lungs as appears from 918, and *φυσῶ*, *φυσιῶ* always mean 'breathing' in Sophocles. The only objection seems to be the epithet *θερμαί*. Why is this an objection? The bronchial passages are for all practical purposes just as hot as the arteries, and in reality both by this time would have been equally cold. All Sophocles means is that the body is still warm and bleeding from the mouth and nostrils.

Further *σύριγξ* properly is a pipe to breathe through, and when it was metaphorically applied to anatomy, it was evidently thought of as an air-pipe. Aristotle five or six times so uses it, but never of a blood-passage, not even¹ in that obscure description of the heart (*Hist. An.* III. iii.). And in a document little if at all later than Sophocles occurs this remarkable statement: ἡ δ' ἀρχαίη φλέψ, ἣ νεμομένη παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν διὰ δὲ τοῦ μεταφρένου τῆς σφαγῆς καὶ τοῦ βρόγχου ἐμπέφυκεν ἐς τὴν καρδίην, ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς φλέβα εὐμεγέθεα πολύστομον κατὰ τὴν καρδίην ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὸ στόμα διὰ τοῦ πλεύμονος ἐσυρίγωκεν, ἥ περ ἀρτηρίη ὀνομάζεται ὀλίγαιμός τε καὶ πνευματώδης. This passage, as printed in Kühn's *Hippocrates*, vol. i., p. 514, and by Littré, is the most dreadful nonsense; I have altered the punctuation, read ἥ for ἡ before *νεμομένη*, and transposed *διὰ τοῦ πλεύμονος* from its place in the editions after *ἀρτηρίη*. It is still obscure in detail and corrupt, but the general sense is plain enough; the vena cava sends off a good-sized vessel (the pulmonary artery) to the lungs, and thence *makes a pipe of it through the lungs to the mouth*, which is called *ἀρτηρίη* (i.e. the trachea). This very interesting description may make an angiologist's hair stand on end, but it is not worse anatomy than the passages quoted by Aristotle from Polybus and Syennesis; pre-Aristotelian anatomy seems to have been as elementary as pre-Aristotelian logic. But observe in it how the blood-vessels and air-passages are confused, and at the same time how the *σύριγξ* makes its appearance as soon as the author gets clearly into touch with the latter. If this is a fair specimen of contemporary notions, Sophocles may be supposed to have had no clear idea of the difference between air-vessels and blood-vessels, while still knowing that the bronchial passages were mainly air-vessels. This exactly suits his language in *Ajax* 1411. If the *σύριγγες* were, as our medical author says, *ὀλίγαιμοι καὶ πνευματώδεις*, and if blood came up through them in consequence of a wounded lung, I do not see how he could have put it better than by the words *σύριγγες ἄνω φυσῶσι μέλαν μένος*.

Neither is *μέλαν* an otiose epithet. Sophocles regards the dark coloured (venous) blood as a sign of evil (cf. *Ajax* 919), but the red blood as the healthy; hence Heracles complains that the poison has drained him of his *red* blood, *χλωρὸν αἷμα*, *Trach.* 1057. It is amusing to see how Theocritus spoils the point in his imitation, or at least parallel (ii. 55). Elsewhere however Sophocles himself uses *μέλαν* as a mere epitheton ornans.

ARTHUR PLATT.

¹ This I will shew one of these days.

NOTES AND EMENDATIONS ON THE TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.

A.

No one probably feels tempted to deny that our best authority for the text of the Tragedies is the *Etruscus*, E (Laurentianus 37. 13), but the authority relatively due to the interpolated tradition A is still a matter of dispute. Leo indeed (vol. i. p. 4) professed to deny all authority to the evidence of A, even where E is manifestly corrupt. But we should be justified in doing this only if the interpolator of A had based his edition on the text of E, and the text of E had suffered no corruptions subsequent to the making of the A edition. That this is so there is not the least reason to suppose. Peiper therefore was right in requiring for his *apparatus criticus* an account of the pure A text, though neither he nor Richter took the trouble to search out the oldest and best MSS of the A tradition out of the three hundred or more available.

There is in particular one point on which I wish to insist, and that is the presence in E of deliberate interpolation quite independent of the interpolations in A. Of this tendency we have a striking warning no later than *Hercules Furens* 18, where E has emended *fert. a nos* (a corruption for *sertagnos[iacae]*) to *fert. a nobis*. There are similar emendations of grammar in E at *Herc. Fur.* 759 *terrent auidae aues*, *Oed.* 569 *per ualles cauas* (for *ter ualles cauae*). Similarly a considerable number of glosses seem to have found their way into the text of E. Sometimes this is betrayed because the true reading has also survived beside the gloss, e.g. *Herc. Fur.* 684 *errat ludit*, *Phoen.* 47 *recipe admitte*; sometimes the gloss is unmetrical, e.g. *Troad.* 791 *puer* for *liber*. Very occasionally a third authority has decided for A rather than E, e.g. *Thyest.* 347 *trabes* A and Lactantius, *fores* E. But where at first sight the divergent readings of A and E seem equally possible, even Peiper and Richter have too readily accepted the authority of E, without considering, first, which of the two variants gives the better sense, and, secondly, which of two readings equally acceptable is the more likely to have been due to interpolation.

For example in *Hercules Furens* 594 *laetis* of A is surely preferable to *latis* of E. The earth rejoices in and is gladdened by the coming of the sun, whereas *latis* adds nothing. In most cases it will be found that reason sides with E, and then by all means let E have its due. For example *Herc. Fur.*

257 *regium capiti decus* E (not *capitis*, A) should certainly be read, since this is the reading of all MSS in *Agam.* 8 and *Thyest.* 701, where the same expression recurs. Similarly a few lines later *Herc. Fur.* 269 *ignarum* in the sense of *ignotum* is to be preferred to *ignauum*. There is no reason to suppose Lycus *ignauus*, whereas he is confessedly *ignotus*, cp. ll. 337-340. But be it noted that *ignarum* is not peculiar to E, but is the reading also of the two best and oldest of the A MSS.

Deference to the authority of E is dangerous and will often lead us astray, and in many cases, where the two variants are equally satisfactory, I incline to accept the reading of A as less likely to have been interpolated than that of E. For example *Herc. Fur.* 799 *clepit* A seems a less likely interpolation or gloss than *tegit* E, *Oed.* 157 *Iaccho* A than *Baccho* E, *Med.* 123 *non sana* A than *uesana* E, *Herc. Oet.* 701 *thyas* A than *maenas* E, 1640 *pyra* A than *rogus* E. But these are only a few instances taken at random, and I wish to support my assertion by a few passages where it can be argued that A preserves the truth while E is interpolated or otherwise wrong.

Troades 73, 74.

deciens niuibus canuit Ide

Ide nostris nudata rogis.

74 decie(n)s nostris E T *Leo Richter.*

The reading of E in 74 gives an unfortunate periphrasis for ten years, as though the Trojans burnt their dead but once in each year, and on each occasion stripped the whole of Mt. Ida. The second *deciens* will be an interpolation to supply the loss (by haplography) of the second *Ide*. For the partial violation of synaphea, cp. *Med.* 306, 348 etc.

Phaedra 764-772.

Non sic prata nouo uere decentia

aestatis calidae despoliat uapor,

saeuit solstitio cum medius dies

et noctes breuibus praecipitant rotis,

languescunt folio aut lilia pallido

768

et gratae capiti deficiunt rosae,

769

ut fulgor teneris qui radiat genis

770

momento rapitur nullaue non dies

formonsi spoliū corporis abstulit.

767 praecipitat E A *corr. Gronovius*, 768 ut E *Leo om.* A et *Richter*, 769 ut *Richter* | rosae A comae E *Leo Richter*, 770 et fulgor *Richter*.

The reading *comae* of E in 769 has been disastrous for the text, as is shown by the number of emendations which Richter not without reason finds necessary. The comparison is between the short life of flowers in summer and the short duration of beauty in man. Answering to *non sic* in 764 we

expect to have *ut* at the point where we turn to beauty in man, and that, if we read with E *comae* in 769, must be with the words *gratae capiti etc.* Hence the necessity of the improbable corrections *et* for *ut* 768, *ut* for *et* 769, *et* for *ut* 770. But what reason have we for preferring *comae* of E to *rosae* of A? Surely *gratae capiti* is an epithet far more appropriate to *rosae*, rose-garlands, than *gratae* is to *comae*. The interpolation *comae* in E was due to the reading *ut* in l. 768, and to the mistake, which recent editors also make, of connecting *capiti* with *deficiunt* instead of with *gratae*. With my slight correction of *aut* for *ut* in 768, and retaining *rosae* the reading of A, there is no further difficulty.

Agamemnon 469-471.

agitata uentis unda uenturis tumet;
cum subito luna conditur, stellae cadunt,
in astra pontus tollitur, caelum perit.

470 cadunt A, latent E *Gronovius Leo Richter*.

The reading of E, in itself the weaker, misses the characteristic antithetic balance '*stellae cadunt : pontus tollitur.*' Moreover falling stars were generally accepted signs of wind and coming storms. Cp. *Phaedra* 738-740, '*ocior cursum rapiente flamma, | stella cum uentis agitata longos | porrigit ignes.*' Cp. Verg. *Georg.* I. 365-367, Lucan V. 560 sqq. *Latent* then is clearly an interpolation.

Agamemnon 976, 977.

scelus peractum est : caede respersam uiri
atque obsoletam sanguine hoc dextram ablue.

976 peractum A, paratum E *Leo Richter*.

The passage is correctly interpreted by Delrius. *Scelus* is the slaying of Agamemnon. The contrast is between the past crime (*scelus peractum est*) and the future crime, the slaying of Electra, which *by comparison* will be no crime but an act of purification (*dextram ablue*); Electra's blood (*sanguine hoc*) will be as purifying water to wash out the stains of a husband's murder (*caedes uiri*), an exaggerated rhetoricism, which *paratum*, the reading of E, badly misses.

Phaedra 517-521.

regios luxus procul
est impetus fugisse ; sollicito bibunt
auro superbi : quam iuuat nuda manu
captasse fontem ! sericus somnus premit :
secura duro membra uersantur toro.

518 bibant A, 520 sericus, certius, certior, fessos si, etc. A, certior E, 521 securo dura A, uersantem E.

The text of E, *certior somnus premit | secura duro membra uersantem toro*, accepted by the editors, gives a satisfactory sense, and if there were no variant

at 520 we should accept this text without demur. But *certior* is not, as the editors imply, the universal reading of the A MSS. The commentary of Treveth, written between 1308 and 1321, and based therefore probably on a MS not later than xiii cent., runs '*Sericus. i. delicatus sompnus* qualem habent dormientes in sericis et stratis mollibus. *Premittit. i. opprimit tales delicatos.*' Extant MSS of the A tradition vary as above stated; and *sericus* occurs early and fairly frequently. Now if the simple reading of E *certior—uersantem* is correct, how is it likely that the impossible reading of all A MSS, *uersantur*, should have arisen? And is *sericus* a likely interpolation? Even if *sericus somnus premit* cannot bear the meaning which Treveth gives it, I think it likely that we may have here an *indication* of a genuine reading, which has been concealed by interpolation in E.

B.

Hercules Furens 353.

Ars prima regni est† posse inuidiam pati†.
p. ad inuidiam A.

The true reading I have little doubt is

ars prima regni est posse *in* inuidia pati.

As in *Thyest.* 470 'immane regnum est posse sine regno pati,' so here *pati* is used in the colourless sense 'to live.' Cp. *Herc. Oct.* 1523.

Hercules Furens 1339, 1340.

meque subiectum tuis
restitu uinclis.
substitu *uel* constitu *edd.*

Restitu uinclis with the MSS is correct. The prefix *re-* does not necessarily mean 'back again,' but here, as so often, has the force of fixing *duly in the proper and just place*. Cp. *Phaedra* 417 'in iura Veneris redeat,' of Hippolytus, who has hitherto refused the dominion of Venus.

Phoenissae 660-662.

POL. Inuisa nunquam imperia retinentur diu.
ET. Praecepta melius imperi reges dabunt;
exilia tu dispone.

MSS and editors differ as to the speakers in these lines; but surely Leo and Richter are wrong in assigning with the MSS 660 to Iocasta instead of to Polynices. The bitter sarcasm of the reply *exilia tu dispone* is quite lost if we suppose the words addressed to Iocasta. This Peiper and Bothe have I think seen.

Medea 35, 36.

gemino Corinthos litori opponens moras
cremata flammis maria committat duo.

Gronovius, followed by Leo and Richter, is wrong in correcting to *litore*. *Opponens moras* without object is very awkward, so much so that Miller translates 'Then Corinth though with double shore *delaying fate*.' The MSS reading is perfectly intelligible if we remember that *litus* properly means, not the firm dry land, but the place where the surf breaks, properly including the idea of sea with that of land. Cp. Cicero *Top.* c. 7 'solebat Aquilius quaerentibus quid esset litus ita definire, qua fluctus alluderet.' It includes the idea of the sea-surf no less than of the sea-shore. Cp. *Phaed.* 26, *Troad.* 837. Corinth then is described as forming a barrier between the lines of breakers on either side.

Medea 387. The punctuation should be

flammata facies; spiritum ex alto citat,
proclamat, etc.

i.e. *flammata est facies*; for it is difficult to understand how *citat spiritum ex alto* (and still less *proclamat*) can be properly said of *facies*. The subject of *citat*, etc., is *Medea*.

Phaedra 224.

solus negatas inuenit Theseus uias.

The commentators fail most strangely to interpret the allusion, which is of course to Theseus' escape from the labyrinth. The present tense *inuenit* is not used in a future sense, but, as Bothe sees, expresses habit. Cp. *Herc. Oet.* 1407 'Herculem solus domat' [*sc. furor*].

Phaedra 341-343.

Si coniugio timuere suo
poscunt timidi proelia cerui,
et mugitu dant concepti
signa furoris.

343 mugitus A.

Leo (vol. i. p. 107), with whom Richter tacitly agrees, thinks it necessary to alter the text. 'Ceruos mugire nunquam audiui nec quemquam credo aut audisse aut dixisse.' The bellowing of stags is not often alluded to in Latin literature. In the Thesaurus the only passages quoted are a fragment of Suetonius where the word used is *rugire*, and the Anthology 762. 53 *crocitant* (?). *Mugitus* however I feel sure is a word which a Roman would readily have used, and it aptly expresses the bellowing of stags. Further Seneca is (perhaps surprisingly) right in connecting this bellowing with sexual instincts. 'The rutting season commences with October. . . . When October arrives the

stags begin to bellow.’¹ Is it possible that Leo and Richter meant to deny to stags any such bellowing?

Phaëdra 505-509.

nunc ille ripam celeris Alpei legit,
nunc nemoris alti densa metatur loca,
ubi Lerna puro gelida perlucet uado,
sedesque mutat; hinc aues querulae fremunt, 508
ramique uentis lene percussi tremunt.

508 sedemque A mutas *Leo* (*Richter*) hic A.

Leo (i. p. 223) writes ‘Non mutat sedes inter u. 507 et 508, nec apte sedes iam mutare dicitur quem per priores uersus idem continuo facere audiuius.’ In the first place the epithet *mutae* does not seem to me particularly appropriate to places resonant with the songs of birds and the rustling of trees. ‘Aues ramique obstrepunt communi silentio’ is a subtle but unconvincing defence. Secondly I fail to see how a person who lives one day on the banks of Alpheus, another on the banks of Lerna, may not be said to change his abode. *Sedes mutat* contrasts the vagabond life with that of a person who lives in a palace and has only one or a limited number of habitations.

In 508 I suggest reading *huic* for *hinc* E *hic* A.

Phaëdra 917.

morumque senium triste et affectus graues.

‘*Affectus graues. Id est molestos.*’ Bothe. Surely the meaning is rather *affectus grauitatis*.

Phaëdra 1007, 1008.

cum subito uastum tonuit ex alto mare
creuitque in astra.

For *tonuit* I suggest *tumuit*, which is the reading of some MSS, and probably of that used by Treveth. But in favour of *tonuit* cp. Ovid *Met.* XV. 510.

Oedipus 709-725.

Non tu tantis causa periclis,		praedonem uenerans suum	
non hinc Labdacidas petunt	710	monituque Phoebi	
fata, sed ueteres deum		iussus erranti comes ire uaccae,	720
irae secuntur. Castalium nemus		quam non flexerat	
umbram Sidonio praebuit hospiti		uomer aut tardi iuga curua plaustris,	
lauitque Dirce Tyrios colonos,		deseruit fugas nomenque genti	
ut primum magni natus Agenoris	715	inauspicata de boue tradidit.	
fessus per orbem furta sequi Iouis		Tempore ex illo noua monstra semper	
sub nostra pauidus constitit arbore		protulit tellus.	
	710	non haec <i>codd.</i>	

The editors apparently find no difficulty in these lines. But how translate ‘*nemus praebuit umbram Sidonio hospiti ut primum natus Agenoris sub nostra arbore*

¹ Sir Samuel W. Baker: *Wild Beasts and their Ways* (1890), vol. ii., p. 202.

constitit?' Miller translates 'Castalia's grove once lent its shade *what time* Agenor's son etc.,' and Miss Harris similarly. Not only is this an unjustifiable rendering of *ut primum*, as I think, but with Miller's version it makes Seneca say 'A Theban grove shaded Cadmus [*Sidonius hospes*], when Cadmus [*natus Agenoris*] sat down under a Theban tree,' a gratuitous bit of information that has no obvious bearing on the context. The best rendering I can suggest is 'The grove of Castalia has sheltered the stranger from Sidon [i.e. Cadmus and his descendants] . . . since the day when first Agenor's son etc.' But this again has no obvious bearing on the subject of the opening lines, and it involves the extremely doubtful rendering of *praebuit* and *lauit* as English perfects, for which a Roman must almost certainly have written presents. Translating *praebuit* and *lauit* as aorists, the connection *ut primum* seems to me meaningless.

If I am justified in my objections, if in this context (cp. *hinc* [?], *tempore ex illo*), *ut primum constitit* can only mean 'since first Cadmus rested etc.,' then I would offer the conjecture *Castalium* <ut> *nemus*, and punctuate accordingly.

. . . irae secuntur. Castalium ut nemus
 umbram Sidonio praebuit hospiti
 lauitque Dirce Tyrios colonos,
 ut primum magni . . .
 . . . de boue tradidit,
 tempore ex illo. . . .

Castalium ut nemus will then be taken up in *Ut primum*, and both will find their apodosis in *tempore ex illo*.

(An alternative punctuation would be *irae secuntur, Castalium ut . . . colonos. Ut primum etc.*)

Oedipus 801-805.

SEN. Timere uana desine et turpes metus
 depone; Merope uera non fuerat parens.
 OED. Quod subditiui praemium gnati petit?
 SEN. Regum superbam liberi astringunt fidem.
 OED. Secreta thalami fare quo excipias modo.
 804 regnum A.

All the commentators seem to agree with Gronovius in making *fidem* mean (*populi*) *fidem*, and refer to the loyalty of subjects to their king. Apart from the difficulty of making *regum fidem* mean *populi fidem erga reges*, this interpretation has the fatal objection of leaving *superbam* unintelligible. Surely *fides* refers to the fidelity of husband to wife, and the point is that childlessness endangers such fidelity, while an heir gratifies the kingly husband and conciliates his affection. For the sentiment compare *Herc. Oet.* 407 *conciliat animos coniugum partus fere*; *Oct.* 949 *cara marito partuque potens*; and for the use of *fides*, *Herc.*

Fur. 420, Propertius IV. [V.] iii. 11, *haecne marita fides?* The epithet *superbam* will now of course refer in sense to *regum*, which on the interpretation of Gronovius it could not be made to do. This interpretation implies that Merope deceived Polybus, and that the only person who shared with her the knowledge of the deceit was the *Senex Corinthius*. This perhaps gives additional point to *secreta thalami*, and the use of the singular, 803 *petit*, 806 *parenti*, though not conclusive, is also worthy of notice.

Thyestes 485-490.

THY. Pro me nihil iam metuo : uos facitis mihi 485
Atrea timendum. TANT. Decipi captus times ;
serum est cauendi tempus in mediis malis.

THY. Eatur. Unum genitor hoc testor tamen, 488
ego uos sequor non duco. TANT. Respiciet deus
bene cogitata. Perge non dubio gradu.

488 *Plistheni* (i.e. *Tantato*) *continuat* A. 489 *respiciat* A. 490 *duobus uersiculis*
b. cog. | p. — gradu E.

These lines have been considerably altered by editors, and Madvig's correction in l. 486 of *cautus* for *captus* has been generally accepted. This however is unnecessary and misses the characteristic point *decipi captus* i.e. *deceptus*. The MSS are also right in giving 487 to Tantalus. In view of the fact that E divides l. 490, it seems to me possible that 489^b, 490^a *Respiciat* (A) *deus bene cogitata* should be assigned to Thyestes.

Hercules Oetaeus 363, 364.

NVT. dilecta Priami nempe Dardanii soror :
concessa famula est.

363 priamo A 364 famulo *codd. inferiores*.

As usually punctuated, without a stop after *soror*, these lines must be translated 'Dardanian Priam's sister whom he loved, he gave away' (Miss Harris); *concessa famula est* 'he gave away as a slave'; nor does the reading *famulo* give the lines much more point. As I interpret, the Nurse is giving an instance to support her argument of ll. 352-357

misera, quid cassum times ?
dilexit Iolen, nempe cum staret parens
regisque natam peteret : in famulae locum
regina cecidit, perdidit uires amor.

Note the striking correspondence '*dilexit I. nempe cum regis natam peteret : . . . famulae . . .*' with '*dilecta nempe Priami Dardanii soror : . . . famula.*' The meaning then will be : 'he loved Hesione so long as she was daughter of Priam : when she was a mere slave he gave her up,' and the point of the lines will depend on the balanced contrast between *Priami soror* and *famula*, *dilecta* and *concessa est*.

Herc. Oct. 380 sqq.

DEI. Ut *alta* siluas forma uernantes habet 380
 quas nemore nudo primus inuestit tepor,
 at cum solutos expulit Boreas notos
 et saeua totas bruma discussit comas
 deforme solis aspicis truncis nemus :
 sic nostra longum forma percurrrens iter 385
 deperdit aliquid semper et fulget minus :
ancilla uenus est.

380 *alta codd.* 384 *aspicit E.* 387 *nec illa uenus est E. malisque minus est A.*

Leo's note on this passage (vol. i. p. 194 sqq.) seems to me unreasonable in objecting to '*siluae nemore nudo inuestiuntur*' as an '*inanis uerborum lusus*,' where *nemore nudo* is abl. abs., and not to be construed directly with *inuestit*. The real difficulties of the passage lie elsewhere, in *alta* l. 380 and in the first words of 387. *Alta* is meaningless; Madvig's *laeta* will do, but does not help us at 387. Independently of Heinsius I conjectured *alia*. Clearly what ll. 380-384 express is a contrast between the beauty of a wood in spring and its bare desolation in winter. Equally clearly what Deianira says in ll. 385 sqq. is that, just as a wood in winter differs from a wood in spring, so she herself is old and wasted while this slave Iole is young, beautiful and attractive. Contrasting then with *nostra forma* l. 385, we must have a clear reference to Iole. This I believe I have restored with the slightest alteration of the reading of E. My doubt is whether *ancilla uenus est* is a possible form of expression in Latin. Comparing *Troades* 304 and Lucretius IV. 1185 I think it is.

Octavia 553-556.

SEN. recedat a te temere ne credas amor.
 NER. quem summouere fulminis dominus nequit,
 caeli tyrannum, saeua qui penetrat freta
 Ditisque regna, detrahit superos polo ?

553 recedet *Bothe Leo Richter.*

If in l. 553 the speaker is arguing that Nero is not to believe that his passion will be lasting—and with the common reading I can give the line no other meaning—Nero's argument from the conduct of Jove is not merely inconsequent, but obviously suggests most damaging evidence against his own case. Jove is not a model of constancy. The true reading I feel sure is

recedat [MSS] a te, temere *ni* cedas, amor.

To this Nero's reply ll. 554 sqq. comes most pointedly: 'What? Can I resist Love when Jove himself cannot do so?' And I feel doubly sure of my correction when I find the author reiterating exactly the same sentiment a few lines below, ll. 564, 565

quem si fouere atque alere desistas, cadit
breuique uires perdit extinctus suas.

Cp. *Phaedra* 132 sqq. For the mistake *credo* for *cedo*, cp. *Oed.* 980, *H. F.* 1342
E. The same error perhaps occurs in *Phoen.* 82,

unde ista generi uirgo dissimilis suo?
Fortuna, cedis? aliquis est ex me pius?

where the MSS and editors read *credis*.

Octavia 856.

PRAEF. Poenam dolor constituet in ciues tuos?

An expression of reluctance at this point on the part of the *Præfectus* is hardly suitable. Here, as in the parallel line 858, he wishes to assure Nero that his wishes, and nothing else, will regulate the punishment to be inflicted on the citizens. Otherwise his utterance of horror in l. 862 loses half its effect. I suggest therefore that in 856 we should read, affirmatively:

poenam dolor constituet in ciues tuus.
'You shall punish the citizens as you please.'

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A RESTORATION OF CALLIMACHUS.

CALLIMACHUS *Aitia* (*Ox. Pap.* 1011) 82-85.

I cannot quite get this right to my satisfaction, but it must have been something like:

Πλούτου καὶ Χαρίτων κοσμήτρια, μαῖα δ' ἀνάσσης
ἡμετέρης, οὐ σε ψεύδον ὅτ' οὐνόματι
πάντ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάντα τελεσφόρον εἶπα, πεποιθὼς
κείνῳ τῷ Μοῦσαι κ.τ.λ.

The goddess addressed I take to be Aphrodite; κομμώτρια and γεννήτρια are possible alternatives in the first line, so far as the number of letters goes. About μαῖα I feel pretty confident.

ARTHUR PLATT.

[Dr. A. S. HUNT, who has kindly re-examined the papyrus at our request, informs us that it does not sanction the reading εἶπα. The letters μαῖα are possible, as stated by him in his edition.—THE EDITORS.]

THE EDITING OF ISIDORE *ETYMOLOGIAE*.

THAT Isidore's etymological encyclopaedia should still remain to be edited seems strange at first sight; a book which makes a bridge between ancient and modern learning, and gives us a picture of the arts and sciences in Spain in the seventh century. Arevalo's edition (in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*) has a fair text, but practically no apparatus criticus; Otto's (in Lindemann's *Grammatici Latini*) offers the variants of a few worthless MSS. to support a very poor text. Since Otto's, published some eighty years ago, there have been promises of editions, but no actual edition.

An editor's enthusiasm is soon chilled by the discovery that Isidore's book is really a mosaic¹ of pieces borrowed from previous writers, sacred and profane; often their 'ipsa verba' without alteration. For example, the accounts of Logic in Book II and of Arithmetic in Book III are practically transferred word for word from Cassiodorus. And the huge number of MSS. scattered throughout the libraries of Europe demands not merely enthusiasm but time and money from an editor. Still, although a great part of the *Etymologiae* is already available for us in the works of extant authors, a portion comes from authors whose works have been lost and offers us the means of recovering them. The *Prata* of Suetonius is to be reconstructed only by the help of Isidore. The presence too of quotations from the lost literature of the Republic demands a reliable text and an adequate apparatus.

To meet this demand the Clarendon Press is publishing in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum* a small text, for which I have used all the available eighth-century MSS. and fragments with some of the ninth. The MSS. later than the ninth (and many of that century itself) are spoilt by mixture of rival versions. But since a large edition, in the style of the Vienna Corpus of Latin Fathers, is desirable and, I hope, possible, I should like to make here some suggestions for it, which my experience has taught me.

The first duty of the editor must be to discover all the sources from which Isidore has borrowed; for the choice of the right reading among a group of variants is often possible only by a reference to the passage which Isidore is consulting or transcribing (e.g. 15, 13, 6, taken from Servius ad Georg. init.; 14, 6, 43, taken from Solinus 23, 11). Arevalo's (really Grial's) notes mention

¹ See Klusmann, *Excerpta Tertullianea*. Hamburg, 1892; Kübler in *Herm.* 25, 496; Dressel in *Riv. Filol.* 3, 207.

a large number of the sources; but not nearly all, as will be seen from a glance at the Index in Mommsen's edition of Solinus or the apparatus (the list of 'Expilatores') in the Orosius and Lactantius of the Vienna Corpus. He must also collect the evidence of authors who have borrowed from Isidore, such as Julianus Toletanus¹ (†690) and Ansileubus,² whose Glossary is in great part composed of passages taken from the *Etymologiae*. This Glossary has not yet been published and must be studied in MSS. As specimens of its variants I quote (from the Cambrai MS.): 'pro z duas ss ponebant ut hylarissat pro hylarizat' (*Etym.* I, 4, 15), 'Romae prius tullius tiro ciceronis libertus commendatus est' (I, 22, 1), 'inpueritiam'³ (I, 24, 1) and the Tarentilla (?) quotation 'quasi in quoro pila ludens datatim dat sese et communem facit alium tenet alii nutat alibi manus est occupata alii peruellit pedem alii dat anulum expectandum alaris alium invocat cum alio cantat adtamen alius dat digito litteras.' (The true reading is perhaps *datim dat sese*.) Whether the text of the *Etymologiae* will gain much from the Glossary remains to be seen. But the date and history of the various 'families' of the text cannot fail to be elucidated.

In his use of the 'auctores' (and the 'expilatores' too) of Isidore an editor requires caution. Just as Isidore must be credited with inaccuracies in his quotations of Virgil or Cicero, so must his transcriptions from Cassiodorus and the other sources be often inaccurate, through his misunderstanding of their meaning or through the inferiority of the MS. of their works which he consulted. Isidore consulted a bad MS. of Ambrose *Hexameron*; and in consequence turns the Phasis into the 'Eusis' (EVSIS for FASIS) and derives the name from 'Euxinum (or, as he spelt it, "Eusinum") mare' (I3, 21, 19). Dracontius wrote *Psyllus*, but Isidore makes this 'suillus' (I2, 2, 37 *suillus autem a setis est nuncupatus*). While Pliny (*N. H.* 13, 74) speaks of 'Liuiae (chartae) . . . a coniuge eius' (*scil.* Augusti), Isidore turns this into 'Libyana (charta) ob honorem Libyae prouinciae.' On the other hand the fault may sometimes lie with the scribe of the archetype MS. of the

¹ 'Isidorus Junior' is generally supposed to be Isidore himself. May it not be rather to be identified with Julianus Toletanus, the re-caster of some of his predecessor's works? One of the earliest extant Spanish MSS. (*Autun* 27) contains the *Quaestiones* of Isidore in half-uncial script, followed by extracts from the *Expositiones*, whose author was previously unknown to us. They are in minuscule script (presumably later than the half-uncial part) and are headed 'Isidori Junioris sententias intexuimus' (cf. *Athenaeum* of April 2, 1910). The re-casting of *Etym.* I xxxiii sq. in an eighth-century Fulda MS. at Basle (*F* III 15^d) is entitled 'Liber isidori iunioris de uiciis.'

² For the provenience of the *Glossarium Ansileubi* this clue is useful. In the two MSS. (of *Saec.* viii-ix) written in what Traube calls 'the old script of Corbie' (Paris 11529-11530; Cam-

brai 653) I found (to borrow another phrase of Traube's) 'Spanish symptoms' only in the Isidore glosses (e.g. in the Paris MS. *dñs* 'dominus' under the lemmas 'Accubuit' and 'Acyrologia' on fol. 5, *epscpi* 'episcopi' on foll. 42v., 49r., *nsi* 'nostri' on foll. 27v., 91v., *sedēs* 'sedens' and appellat '-ant' on fol. 73v., the Spanish ligatured 'it' in 'Constituit' fol. 71r.; in the Cambrai MS. *nsi* on fol. 38v., *constas* '-ans' on fol. 43v., the Spanish spellings *nicil*, *quaquumque* on foll. 23r., 32r.). Therefore the Isidore portions were taken by Ansileubus from a Spanish codex; but the Glossary itself is not of Spanish provenience.

³ *Inpueritiam* must surely be right. Then 'dicite labdae' in Varro *Men.* 48 (Bue.) will mean 'call them blockheads,' like 'stultos contemnite docti' in the following line.

Etymologiae and not with Isidore himself. The archetype, for example, offered in Book XV (8, 1) 'caementum a caedendo dictum quod crasso lapide surgat,' but in Book XIX (10, 2) 'caementum a caedendo dictum quod *caeso* crasso lapide surgat.' The omission of *caeso* in the former passage is clearly the scribe's mistake, not Isidore's. The insertion of the opening words of 17, 9, 87 at the end of 17, 9, 56 suggests that the scribe had 'skipped' a leaf here. In my edition I have contented myself, as a rule, in doubtful cases with printing the archetype's inaccurate reading and giving in the apparatus the version which would satisfy accuracy. For Isidore seems to have been at times capable of appalling mistakes, the worst being the often-quoted 'nam pis aurum dicitur' (17, 4, 10) from Servius (*ad Aen.* 6, 825) 'nam Pisaurum dicitur quod illic aurum pensatum est' (more certain and nearly as bad is the misinterpretation in 16, 3, 3 of Servius *ad Aen.* 10, 653). Arevalo defends the Father of the Church by the ingenious suggestion that Isidore had meant the whole passage of Servius to be quoted and had merely jotted down its three opening words, to save the trouble of writing it out; or else had directed his amanuensis to write them, and to enter the whole passage at a convenient opportunity. And yet, if we attempt to go behind what Isidore (or his amanuensis) wrote and to get at what Isidore meant to write, we overstep the bounds of prudent editing. Isidore certainly was not a Greek scholar, as we see from 15, 1, 33 'Heliopolis . . . solis ciuitas . . . sicut LXX interpretes arbitrantur.' He seems to confuse ἡχώ and εἰκὼν (16, 3, 4) and, misled by Epiphanius, regards κοτή (cote) as Greek¹ for 'incisio' (cf. κόπτω ?) (16, 26, 5; cf. 16, 3, 6). In the Nominative Case he uses 'Macaronneson' (14, 6, 15); and that this is his own error and not a scribe's is suggested by a reference to the passage which he is borrowing (Solinus 14, 4), where the word occurs in the Accusative. Has then an editor any reason to alter the Archetype's reading in etymologies like 15, 8, 17 *Fistulae . . . quod aquas . . . emittant, nam στολα (stola) Graece mittere est* (cf. 6, 8, 17; 7, 9, 1)? Of course a scribe who could not decipher the letters of a Greek etymon would turn them into their Latin equivalents as well as he could, with the help of the Latin lemma-word. Still the repeated mention of στηριον (sterium) as Greek for 'statio' (elicited from *mona-sterium* in 15, 4, 5, and from *erga-sterium* in 15, 6, 5), shews that the error must at least sometimes be Isidore's own.

Isidore, as we learn from the Prefatory Letters (no. 5), sent the uncorrected MS. of his work to Braulio with a request that Braulio would correct it before publishing: 'codicem Etymologiarum . . . licet inemendatum prae ualitudine, tamen tibi modo ad emendandum studueram offerre.' A specimen of a miswriting left uncorrected by Braulio may be 'sola' for *zona* (3, 40); for this is an error of a writer to dictation (i.e. of Isidore's amanuensis), not of a transcriber² from an original. But in most cases, e.g. 'animam quoque' for

¹ Another Greek 'ghost-word' is κάμωρ (12, 1, 35; 15, 8, 5). The source of the error appears when we read *Paul. Fest.* 30, 37 Th.

² The evidence seems strong against the theory that dictation was ever practised in a monastery scriptorium. Silence was the rule there.

amant quoque (8, 6, 10), it is impossible to say whether the error first appeared in the Archetype or goes back to Isidore's MS. itself. That the Archetype contained emendations, various readings (e.g. 4, 7, 6 *insidia*, *insania*) and marginal additions (e.g. 5, 24; 1, 17, 25) is certain, but quite uncertain whether they go back to Braulio's time. The seventh paragraph of 2, 9 had been omitted (through Homoeoarchon) by the scribe of the archetype (or its original) and was entered on the margin. In 11, 1, 46 our MSS. offer 'auden liden' for the Greek word *αὐδην*, representing a scribe's double attempt to decipher the Greek letters of his original. In 13, 6, 2 *a nostris* (which would be written in Spanish fashion 'a nsīs') was transcribed 'ansis' in the Archetype, and has been changed to 'axis' in the Archetype of Family II (cf. 8, 6, 11; 6, 19, 12).

And this brings us to a new problem for an editor, How far has the text been edited (in the seventh century or slightly later), and how far are rival editions reflected in our MSS.? Our MSS. fall naturally into three families. The first, containing by far the greater number of extant codices, offers what may be called a 'textus receptus.' Family II, which boasts the two earliest¹ MSS., one at Wolfenbüttel (4148 = *Weiss*. 64), one at Rome (*Vat. lat.* 5763), which I call K and L, compresses the text into the smallest possible compass. The text of Family III, on the other hand, the family of the Spanish MSS., of which the oldest is the *Toletanus* (T) in the Bibl. Nacional at Madrid (*Tol.* 15, 8), is full of 'interpolations.' Now we know that before Braulio edited the 'codex inemendatus' which Isidore sent him, imperfect copies were already in existence (*Epist. Praef.* 4 'libros Etymologiarum . . . etsi detruncatos conrososque iam [a] multis haberi'). So the first theory that presents itself is that in Family II we have the text prior to Braulio, in Family III the text corrected and amplified by Braulio. Will this key fit the lock? One thing in its favour is that an interpolation peculiar to the Spanish² MSS. is the account of Saragossa in 15, 1, 66; and Braulio was Bishop of Saragossa. But how are we to explain Family I under this hypothesis? Unfortunately its oldest representative, a Milan MS. (*Ambros.* L 99 sup.) written at Bobio³ in the middle (?) of the eighth century (I call it A), bears clear traces of 'mixture' with another Bobio MS., the original of the two previously mentioned (e.g. at 3, 6, 1 the words *ad aliquid iste dividitur sic alii enim sunt aequales* are omitted in all three MSS.; at 1, 8, 2 *ut ego me precedes enim*). In some MSS. of this family there is a sentence inserted at the close of Book V, which points to an

¹ Both were written from the same original at the same time, perhaps the beginning of the eighth century, and in the same place, the scriptorium of Bobbio. Although the Vatican transcript has an eleventh-century entry stating that Boniprandus presented it to Bobio, the presentation (the word is 'obtulit') must have been rather a restoration; for a palimpsest in this North Italian script can hardly have been written anywhere else. Similarly the Vatican Papyrus no. 21, which passed into a private

library, but was restored to the Vatican in 1821, is called a 'gift' in the recording entry ('nobilium Gualteriorum donum').

² At Madrid, Bibl. Nac., in *Tol.* 15, 8 and *Tol.* 15, 9; Bibl. Acad. Hist. in 25 and 76. At the Escorial, in & I. 14, P I. 7, P I. 8, T (formerly Q) II. 24. And presumably in the others.

³ Let me mention here its interesting gloss at 1. 39. 18 *scenis*] id est laubia. This is Ital. 'loggia' (cf. Goetz, *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.).

edition in the 'tenth year' of King Recesvintus, i.e. 658, some thirty years after Braulio's edition. Does the text of Family I emanate from this edition?

These are problems which I cannot profess to solve. All I can do is to mention some facts which will help their solution.

Family II mainly consists of MSS. written in Italian scriptoria, at Bobio, Monte Cassino, etc. Its archetype may be supposed to be a Spanish MS. brought into Italy not later than the end of the seventh century. The close connexion of K and L may be seen from any photographs of corresponding parts of the two MSS. Since they share palimpsest leaves of the same ancient codex (cf. Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhandl.* 1, 258), they are not likely to be transcripts the one of the other. If actual proof be needed, it is supplied by some omissions in K, which are not shared by L (e.g. *cautio* 5, 24, 22), and some omissions in L not shared by K (e.g. *nam . . . exposcitur* 5, 24, 17).

To correct their common errors, the evidence of two other eighth-century MSS. of this family is required, *Cava* 23, written at Monte Cassino (M), and a Reichenau MS. at Carlsruhe (*Reich.* 57), written in North Italy, perhaps at Verona (N); but especially of M, for the scribe of N was woefully illiterate.¹ Thus in 15, 2, the 21st paragraph 'Promurale . . . murum' is omitted by K (also by two ninth-century St. Gall MSS. of this family, no. 233 and no. 235), but not by M N (cf. 1, 27, 17; 15, 16, 12; 16, 1, 7; 14, 4, 19; 15, 9, 6; 20, 2, 34). Some Isidore extracts in a Paris MS. (*lat.* 7530) are useful as a check on M; for this extract MS. was written at Monte Cassino about the same time as M (cf. Loew *Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, Munich, 1908). For example, it preserves in the last paragraph of Book V the true form of their common Monte Cassino original: 'Eraclius ann. XVII. huius imperii XIII anno iudaei ab ispanis christiani efficiuntur,' while in M there is an omission which vitiates the sense: 'Eraclius ann. XVII iudaei spanis,' etc. That M was copied directly from a Spanish MS. is suggested by its thoroughly Spanish spelling in another part of this paragraph: 'hau initio mundi.' So strange a form of *ab* could hardly survive more than one transcription. The same part that Paris *lat.* 7530 plays for M is played for N by a Berlin extract MS. (*Phill.* 1831), written at Verona not later than the opening years of the ninth century.

As a specimen of the 'compressed' text of this family we may take 7, 2, 42 'nam agnus et ouis pro innocentia,' where the other two families offer a fuller form of sentence: 'nam et Christus agnus pro innocentia et ouis propter patientiam.' The theory that this 'compressed' text represents the 'unauthorized version' to which Braulio refers has been already mentioned. A more likely theory is that it represents Isidore's 'codex inemendatus' (see above) in the state in which it reached Braulio, while the text common to the other two families (or the text of the third family alone) shews the result of

¹ Dr. Holder, the Carlsruhe Librarian, describes this MS. in *Mélanges Chatelain*, pp. 634 sqq. He regards the weird misspellings as evidence that MSS. were occasionally copied to

dictation. But many of them occur in other MSS. of this family, and some (e.g. the persistent *-et* for *-e*) may be referred to the unfamiliar script of the original.

Braulio's editing. A third theory is equally possible, that some Abbot of a 'frugal mind' compressed the text with a view to the saving of parchment, a theory not at all inconsistent with a characteristic feature of the early MSS. of this family. They are calligraphic MSS., written with unusual disregard of economy of space; abbreviations are rare; each paragraph begins a new line. Their Archetype presumably was written in the same style.

Since Kuebler's account of K (*Hermes* 25, 496), the merits of this family (and in particular of this its oldest representative) have been well known. We must however bear in mind that Kuebler there compares K with the worthless MSS. used by Otto, and that many or most of its good readings which he mentions are shared by the older MSS. of the other families. I have heard a suggestion that an editor should base his text wholly upon K (with the help, I suppose, of L M N and the other MSS. of this family). To shew the un wisdom of this policy, it will be well to illustrate weak points in K and in Family II.

(1) Interpolation: 3, 50, 2; 5, 23. There is a long interpolation in M in Book III at the end of chap. 65 'Existunt stelle et in mari,' etc., from Pliny *N. H.*, Book II. I have not noticed it in any other MS. of this family. Another long interpolation accompanies the Paschal Cycle (the Cycle is omitted in K) at 6, 17, 5 in M.

(2) Omission: 3, 55, 1; 8, 11, 85-89; 6, 19, 74; 14, 6, 6; 17, 3, 6. At 19, 2, 11 the Cato quotation was omitted. The whole paragraph seems to have stood in the margin of the archetype; for K omits the words *Parastatae—stantes*, while N places them in the middle of the preceding paragraph. M omits the last paragraph of Book IX. That the omission of §§ 3-48 of 2, 21 is a case of omission by Family II, and not of interpolation by Families I, III, is suggested by the words of § 2, also by the omission of some examples, which is a feature of the 'codex inemendatus' of Isidore. The same test supports the genuineness of 1, 34-37, omitted in Family II.

(3) Doctored text: 17, 3, 18 'ustulata' for *ustipula*; 13, 6, 2 'axis' for *ansis* (i.e. *a nsis*, 'a nostris'); 10, 175 'ore laudare' (K) for *os claudere*; 17, 7, 7 'incestis amorem' for *in gustuacorem*. In 17, 9, 25 *toxica* (probably 'tosica' in the Archetype) appears as 'tosca' and 'tusca' in some MSS. of Family I, but in Family II this is turned into 'tusca lingua.' In 19, 22, 20 (Naevius quotation) *uestemque citrosam* appears as 'uestis.'

(4) Wrong readings: 13, 22, 2 'paludibus' for *lapidibus*; 18, 1, 3 'propugnatorum' for *propulsandorum*; 19, 24, 13 'quia dicitur' for *quadrum* (written in the archetype's original *qadr*). This family has a different setting of 8, 4 (the chapter on Jewish sects) from that of the other families.

Family III is notably addicted to interpolation. Isidore left a good many lemma-words unprovided with explanations. These have been more often supplied in MSS. of this family than in others (see the examples in the list at the end of this article). But these 'interpolations' are not always to be despised. One of them is a unique fragment of Fronto, cited (15, 2, 46) to

support the derivation of *carcer* from *coerceo*. The 'interpolation' in 2, 27, 7 is rather a case of omission (caused possibly by the homoeoteleuton 'disp-utat' and 'utilitas') by the other two families, for in their text the word *perihermeniarum* has no construction. And Family III often alone preserves the 'ipsa verba' of Isidore. Thus at 1, 15 its reading is admirably appropriate to the 'inemendatus codex'; it alone shews the right reading *obtritum* (4, 12, 5), a reading which cannot be a conjectural emendation (cf. 11, 1, 60 *teres*; 14, 4, 4 *uirum*). Therefore the 'editor' of this family's text had access to some MS. which did not share the errors found in the current texts of the time. One is almost tempted to ask: 'Can it have been Isidore's own MS.?' Certainly the misplaced 'interpolation' at 4, 7, 34, which I have ventured to set in its appropriate place at 9, 2, 88, is more easily explained as Isidore's own entry than as an interpolation. For an interpolation would not be misplaced. A page of the archetype MS. of this family began at 1, 4, 16 (a quibusdam), and on its top margin stood a corrected version of § 17. Another began at 7, 12, 7 and had on its top margin an interpolation designed for insertion at the end of § 10.

T is the oldest¹ and (therefore) the best MS. of this family. It is free from many interpolations which appear in the later members. But it cannot be substituted for the archetype of the family. To recover the archetypal readings we must use other Spanish MSS. as a check on T. Thus T has an interpolation at 7, 8, 41, which is not found in other MSS. (cf. 17, 9, 10 and 105; 17, 10, 16), and unlike other Spanish MSS., which I have examined, spoils that interesting Verrius Flaccus lemma² *Petro et rupes* at 10, 231. Far older than T are the Isidore-extracts in *Escor.* R. II 18, but they do not reproduce the exact words of Isidore and so are not of much help to us. Thus Isidore's 'Madai, a quo Medos existere putant' (9, 2, 28) is extracted in this form: 'Madai a quo Medi existunt.' If we had really early MSS. of this family, we might find them surprisingly free of interpolation.

With regard to Family I, the first problem to be solved is, as we have seen, whether it is identical with an edition made in 658, in the reign of Recesvintus, or whether this applies only to a subdivision of the family; next, if the latter alternative be true, to collect the peculiarities of this edition. From Mommsen's list (*Chronica Minora*, pp. 412 sqq.) of MSS. of the *Etymologiae* (or rather of those containing Book V) it will be seen in what a large proportion of the MSS. the Recesvintus-entry appears. Its absence in others might be due to 'mixture' of text. Indeed 'mixture' is a failing particularly rife in the MSS. of this family; although, if earlier representatives were extant, they might prove to be free from it. As it is, it is not easy to group properly the numerous ninth-century MSS., or to avoid a doubt that

¹ Visigothic script has not been adequately studied by palaeographers, and sound date-tests are not yet wholly available. But Dr. Loew seems right in refusing to *Escor.* T (formerly Q) II 24 an earlier date than the tenth century,

although its original was written in the year 743.

² Both Arevalo and Otto print the corrupt reading 'Petra(e) et rupes.' Could there be a clearer proof of the necessity of a new edition?

this is not really an independent family, like Family II and Family III, but merely comprises the MSS. which mix the two rival texts at caprice. Two MSS. of the end of the eighth century, a Fulda MS. now at Basle (F III 15) and a Corbie MS. now at Paris (*lat.* 13028, containing only Books XVI-XX and Book IV), seem closely connected. That the Basle MS. was copied directly from a Spanish MS. is suggested by the spelling at 15, 2, 3 'hubi araberit' (similarly 'araberit . . . hubi' in N). In the Paris MS. Book IV (on Medicine) was placed at the end of the volume; in the Basle MS. it now stands in its proper place, but since it occupies a separate gathering (foll. 40 r.—45 v.), this arrangement may be due to a bookbinder.

To illustrate the weak points of Family I we may cite the insertion at 14, 4, 12 of the words 'et ciuitates' to provide a construction for 'quas' (miswritten for *quae*); 'doctored' readings like 'de amore desiderare' (10, 76, where A however has the right version) for *deamo te, Syre*; and interpolation, e.g. at 4, 5, 3. On the other hand its reading at 12, 6, 36 seems Isidore's, where the other families add a verb to eke out the construction of the sentence.

Lastly comes a practical question. How is the editor (the ideal editor) to construct his apparatus criticus? Above all things he must not lay himself open to the gibe that 'the wood cannot be seen for the trees.' He must achieve a clear presentation of the divergences of the archetypes of the three families and not obscure it with a too conscientious record of the aberrations of isolated scribes. I, for one, would applaud him if he could bring himself to disregard minute divergences like *autem* and *uero*, or *scribendum* and *scribendum est*; since this encyclopaedia is not a literary work of art, and Isidore's 'codex inemendatus' was probably a mere rough draft in which the sentences¹ were not always written out. To print a full collation of, say, a score or even a dozen of the leading MSS. would be sheer folly. The sifted testimony of the combination K M will almost² suffice for Family II. For Family I T merely requires³ to be checked every here and there by a reference to one (possibly two) of the better⁴ Spanish MSS., let us say, either *Escor.* T II 24

¹ Probably words were often abbreviated by 'suspension.' In 1, 27, 26 the divergences of our MSS. (*scribendum*, *scribenda*, *scribitur*) may all be referred to the suspension scrib (probably for 'scribendum') in the parent MS. So that an ungrammatical case of a noun or person or tense of a verb may not be always an error of Isidore.

² Not, e.g. at 15, 12, 4 where N comes nearest of all MSS. to the truth (*magalia magaria*) with its 'magaria et magaliām.'

³ Did the clever emendation in the original of T at 16, 4, 1 come from a MS. or from the scribe (or corrector) himself? The true reading is *in Ida*. All our MSS. have 'in India,' but there was a marginal query in the original of T 'an Ida?'

⁴ *Escor.* P I 7 incurs suspicion by its re-casting of the opening parts of Book I. From 1, 2, 2 fin. it passes to 1, 3, 3, thence to 1, 4, 2. It places 1, 3, 1-2 and 1, 3, 4-4, 1 (followed by 1, 4, 16 med. -18 fin.) after 1, 4, 15. (*St. Gall.* 237, a tenth-century MS. of this family places chaps. 3-4 of Book I after chap. xiv.). The MS. belonged to the library of King Alfonso (usually identified with Alfonso II 'el Casto,' 791-842, but by Dr. Loew with Alfonso III, 866-910). Was the re-casting done by one of the King's teachers? Many of the scholia added on its margins refer to matters of orthography, e.g. fol. 281v. 'cedrus cum a scribi oportet.' On fol. 276v. Isidore's 'pis aurum dicitur' is challenged: 'Require alibi utrum pis aurum dicatur quia apud grecos aurum crusapi dicitur.'

or the related¹ MS., *Escor.* & I 14. The latter however takes the liberty of epitomizing 6, 16, 9-10 'cum discoro et reliquis hereticis eorum dogmatibus predamnabit hoc opere condita continentur.' For Family I the task of selection is harder. I cannot claim to have examined all the possibly eligible MSS. of the ninth century, and do not venture to make a decision. But I would warn an editor against the danger of allowing his classification of the MSS. to be too much influenced by their division of the work into books and chapters. Isidore's 'codex inemendatus' was divided by sections (and chapters), not by books. The division into 20 books is the work of Braulio, as he himself tells us in his *Praenotatio*: 'Etymologiarum codicem nimia magnitudine, distinctum ab eo titulis, non libris; quem quia rogatu meo fecit, quamvis imperfectum ipse reliquerit, ego in uiginti libros diuisi.' Isidore's 'tituli' were presented in Braulio's edition in Index-form at the beginning of each book or section of a book. A glance at these (they are printed all together in the Index of Chapters at the beginning of the Clarendon Press edition) will shew that Isidore seems to have rather designed 22 (or 24) books than 20. But since the title-headings throughout MSS. of the *Etymologiae* were usually left for the rubricator to fill in, and since he was always liable to mistake a new section of a book for a new book, a great deal of confusion has resulted, so that there is wide divergence in this respect between different MSS. Such divergence is however more superficial than fundamental; and we must bear in mind that the rubricator often left his task undone, with the result that title-headings have been filled in at a later time, perhaps a century or two centuries later than the actual transcription of the MS., and with the help of a MS. of an entirely different family. Discrepancies in arrangement (as well as mixture of text) must have arisen from the practice of transcribing as a separate MS. some one particular book, e.g. Book IV (on Medicine), or section of a book, e.g. chaps. 22 sqq. of Book II (on Logic). Book IV is sandwiched between the two sections of Book V (de Legibus; de Tempore) in Family II (possibly an accidental displacement of leaves, since the archetype of this family was apparently calligraphic, with a new section beginning a new leaf), but keeps its proper place in Family III. In the Basle MS. there is a title-heading at 2, 22 INCHOAT DIALECTICA IVXTA ISIDORVM.

The division of the whole work into 'pars I' (= Books I-X) and 'pars II' (= Books XI-XX) was a mere matter of convenience. How prevalent was the practice may be judged from the numerous MSS. which contains only 'pars I' or only 'pars II.' Thus A contains only Books I-X and never contained more; for the scribe inserts at the end of Book X the favourite formula for ending a transcript 'Sicut portus,' etc. More obscure are the traces of a division by triads. T makes a 'tertia particula' (Books VII-IX) begin at Book VII and gives a continuous Index Capitulorum of these books (see Beer's preface to the facsimile, p. xvi). A has at the end of Book III the entry

Both, for example, omit *Flamines pontifices idolorum* (10, 96), *quae—possunt* (10, 2).

‘Incipit liber secundus.’ Does this throw any light on the displacement of Book IV?

Another feature of the archetype (or of some archetypes) may be mentioned here. The paragraphs were indicated (presumably when they did not begin a new line) by a symbol at the beginning of each. In T the symbol K (i.e. ‘Kapitulum’) often appears (see Beer’s Preface, p. xxii); and that this symbol, or rather its equivalent KA, was employed in the Archetype of each family is suggested by these examples of misreadings at the beginning (or end) of a paragraph:

(Family I) 17, 3, 6 ‘Caedor’ for *edor* (really *ador*).

(Family II) 13, 21, 16 ‘maricam’ for *mari* (or *mare*).

(Family III) 1, 4, 15 ‘pro Y uero scribebant H et A’ for *pro Y uero I scribebant*. The scribe here seems to have found in his original *pro y uero iscribebant . KA*.

But in the Basle MS. of Family I we find relics of another symbol $\bar{m}$ (8, 5, 12; 8, 5, 36), a symbol apparently transferred from his original by a scribe who did not understand it, for the symbol for ‘require’ accompanies it at 8, 5, 12.

One other point remains to be noticed, the prefatory matter. The common archetype of all our MSS. contained, as a Preface, five letters exchanged between Braulio and Isidore (which strongly argues for the common-sense theory that this common archetype was the Braulio edition); while Family III prefixes other two letters, making seven in all. After the prefatory letters comes the dedication of the work, which seems to have been made to King Sisebut, who had been dead for some years when Isidore sent his ‘codex inemendatus’ to Braulio. Most of our MSS., it is true, make Braulio and not Sisebut the person addressed; but that mistake is easily accounted for by the proximity of the Braulio correspondence. I do not know that we can extort from the opening words, ‘en tibi, sicut pollicitus sum, misi opus,’ certain evidence that a copy had already been sent to Sisebut. Isidore may have composed the Preface under the idea that the book would be presented without delay but have changed his mind and delayed the presentation.

Let me conclude with a list of some test-passages for discrimination of the different families (I use α , β , γ instead of I, II, III):

(Book I) 3, 1 uerba enim per oculos non per aures introducunt *hab. \gamma*: *om. \alpha\beta* (cf. 1, 4, 14; 1, 15; 1, 17, 7).

3, 11 excepto I et X littera, quae et figura crucem significat, et in numero decem demonstrat *\alpha\beta*: excepto aliquae quae numeros figura demonstrant, ut C pro centum, D pro quingentis, I pro uno, L pro quadraginta, V pro quinque et X (littera) quae in figura crucem sign., etc., γ .

34-37 *hab. \alpha\gamma*: *om. \beta*.

(Book II) 2, 1 et Titiano *hab. a : om. βγ*.

19, 2 Quae structura melior fit, si consonantes uocalibus adplicantur.

Trium quoque consonantium quae γ : Quae structura menantium quae β. Probably *a* agrees with γ.

21, 3-48 *om. β : hab. γ*. Probably *a* agrees with γ.

(Book III) 51 se inmerserit β : se tinxerit *αγ*.

(Book IV) 12, 7-10 stood at the end of the book in *a* apparently, because the scribe had 'skipped' a page.

(Book V) 27, 17 ostia saxaque *αγ* : ostea uectea saxaque β.

(Book VI) 19, 74 *hab. αγ : om. β*.

(Book VII) 12, 6 (fin.) metropolitani autem a mensura ciuitatum uocati *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

(Book VIII) chap. iv has a peculiar order of paragraphs and a peculiar text in β.

11, 85-89 *hab. αγ : om. β*.

(Book IX) 2, 81 Spartanos uero propter—ita uocatos *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

(Book X) 183 (Morio) a morte uocatus eo quod non uigeat intellectu *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

(Book XI) 1, 60 teres γ : heret *αβ*.

2, 31 siue mors a morsu hominis primi, quod uetitae arboris pomum mordens mortem incurrit *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

(Book XII) 1, 21 ab innuere dicti, quia ad nutum matris absconduntur *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

1, 57 onagros—nascerentur *hab. αγ : om. β*.

7, 60 quae etiam hieme deplumata in truncis arborum concauis habitare perhibetur *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

(Book XIII) 16, 4 breuius *αγ* : peruium β.

22, 2 lapidibus *αγ* : paludibus β.

(Book XIV) 1, 2 citati *αβ* : praecipitati γ. aliquot—sedere *om. MN* : montes *om. K* (with St. Gall. 233).

6, 6 apis—deserant *hab. αγ : om. β*.

(Book XV) 2, 27 siue a Phoroneo rege, qui primus Graecis legem dedit *hab. γ : om. αβ*. haec loca *hab. αγ : om. β*.

9, 6 satorum *αγ* : agrorum β. unde et appellatae *hab. N (αγ) : om. K* (with St. Gall. 233, 235).

(Book XVI) 25, 2 qui—narrauit *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

26, 5 et cotylam—facit *hab. γ : om. αβ*.

(Book XVII) 3, 6 adoreum tritici genus, quod idem uulgo semen dicitur *hab. αγ : om. β*.

9, 71 haec potui—expirauit *hab. αγ : om. β*.

9, 87 (A)splenos dicta quod splenem auferat *post* sunt similia β.

5, 17 unciariae a magnitudine *ante* purpureae β.

(Book XVIII) 1, 3 propulsandorum *αγ* : propugnatorum β.

2, 1 propagatur *αγ* : comparatur β.

(Book XIX) 1, 12 *hab. αγ: om. β.*

28, 8 (Menum) quod sit colore nigro. Graeci enim μέλαν nigrum dicunt *hab. γ: om. αβ.* (Masticinum) quod colorem masticis habeat *hab. γ: om. αβ.*

(Book XX) 2, 21 (Coctum) quasi coactum—aptum *hab. γ: om. αβ.*

4, 11 cauata *αγ: uocata β.*

12, 5 (Basterna uehiculum) itineris quasi uiae sternax, mollibus stramentis composita a duobus animalibus deportata *hab. γ: om. αβ.*

A criterion of copies of A is 'floruit' for *profluit* (1, 37, 4); of copies of K, the omission of 7, 5, 6-8 and of the last sentence of 17, 9, 7 'et in prouerbio—quaerit' (a sentence retained by St. Gall. 235).

W. M. LINDSAY.

TWO EMENDATIONS.

I.

Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 10.

ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ τινί, κὰν μὴ βούλωνται τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖν, φορᾶ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσκήσαι (φέρ' εἰπεῖν) τὸν Στωϊκὸν λόγον, καταλιπὼν [τε] τοὺς λοιπούς, ἢ τὸν Πλατωνικὸν ὑπερφρονήσας ὡς ταπεινότερον τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ τὸν Περιπατητικὸν ὡς ἀνθρωπικώτερον.

Though Origen ended by being adjudged a heretic, he was yet in some ways a sensible man, and it is impossible that he should have talked of the Platonic philosophy as 'lower' than others. Read *ταπεινότερων*. 'He flies to the Stoic doctrine, or the Platonic (despising all others as grovelling in comparison), or the Aristotelian as more practical.'

II.

Ovid, *Met.* x. 190.

Vt si quis uiolas riguoque papauera in horto
Liliaque infringat fuluis haerentia linguis.

Neither *haerentia linguis* nor the old reading *haerentia uirgis* yields any intelligible sense. Ovid wrote *horrentia linguis*, and the *tongues* are the stamens and anthers which are so conspicuous in lilies. *Violas* seems to mean the iris as *ἶον* does in *Odyssey* v. 72, I think, and certainly in the famous passage of the sixth Olympian ode.

ARTHUR PLATT.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 30. No. 4. 1909.

Recognition Scenes in Greek Literature, B. Perrin. *The Date of the Extant Prometheus of Aeschylus*, D. A. MacRae. [*Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra Redactions of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts, Second Part*, Truman Michelson.] The Saturnian Metre, J. Fraser. Reviews: Plessis's *La Poésie Latine*, Kirby Flower Smith. Abbott's *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, Harry Langford Wilson. [Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, L. H. Gray.] Summaries of Periodicals. Brief mention: Leonard's *Translation of the Fragments of Empedokles*, Meltzer on the Greek Perfect, and Schlachter on Greek Moods and Tenses, the Editor.

Vol. 31. No. 1. 1910.

Serviana, E. G. Sihler. *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University*, IV, Harry Langford Wilson. *The Number of the Dramatic Company in the Period of the Technitae*, Kelley Rees. [*Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra Redactions of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts, Third Part*, Truman Michelson.] *Cicero De Officiis* 2. 10, Charles Knapp. 'A Syntactician among the Psychologists,' Basil L. Gildersleeve. [*An Avestan Parallel in Darius Naḡs-i-Rustam*, b, H. C. Tolman.] Reviews: Friedrich's *Catullus*, Edwin W. Fay. Deicke's *De Scholiis in Apollonium Rhodium Quaestiones Selectae*, Edward Fitch. Eitrem's *Hermes und die Toten*, M. B. Ogle. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief mention: Bodrero's *Eraclito*, Gudeman's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*, Richards's *Aristophanes and Others*, etc., the Editor. Obituary Notice of Henri Weil, the same.

No. 2.

The Seventh Nemean Revisited, Basil L. Gildersleeve, *The Final Monosyllable in Latin Prose and Poetry*, Albert Granger Harkness. [*Changes in Verse-Technic in the Sixteenth Century English Drama*, Robert L. Ramsay.] *Salissationes sive ad Plauti Milit.* 694, Samuel Grant Oliphant. *Epigraphica*, Edwin W. Fay. Reviews: Robert's *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, David M. Robinson. Duff's *Literary History of Rome*, Kirby Flower Smith. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief mention: Roberts's *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, Jackson's *Jerusalem the Golden*, etc., the Editor. Denison's *Mexican-Aryan Comparative Vocabulary*, E. W. F. Van Deman's *Atrium Vestae*, H. L. W. Obituary Notice of Morris Hicky Morgan.

No. 3.

Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University, V., Harry Langford Wilson. *Relative Temporal Statements in Latin*, R. B. Steele. *Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folk-love*, M. B. Ogle. *The Origin of the Accentual Prose Rhythm in Greek*, Henry

B. Dewing. [*Rig Veda* I. 32. 8, Ellwood Austin Welden.] Reviews: Fowler and Wheeler's *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, David M. Robinson. [Jusserand's *Literary History of the English People*, James M. Garnett. Seidenadel's *First Grammar of the Language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot*, Frank R. Blake. Kyriakides's *Modern Greek-English Dictionary*, Aristogeiton M. Soho.] Summaries of Periodicals. Brief mention: Gilbert Murray's *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Van Leeuwen's *Wasps of Aristophanes*, Wunderer's *Similes and Metaphors in Polybios*, etc., the Editor. *Classical Manuali Hoepli*, H. L. W.

Mnemosyne. 1910. 38. 4.

J. van Leeuwen, *Homerica* (from vol. 37). 35. Hector's farewell intolerable if he is to see his wife again. So in H. 477 Τρῶες δὲ (δαίνυντο) κατὰ πτόλιν and Θ 55 Τρῶες . . . ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὀπλίζοντο read στρατόν for πτόλιν, delete Θ 58, 59 as a repetition from B 809 sqq. 36. The poet of the *Iliad* has in mind a three months' war. Ω 765 is obviously wrong, M 15 doubtful enough on metrical grounds, B 295 sqq. cannot have come in their present form from him. The *Odyssey* on the other hand presumes a ten-year war. The conception of the anger of Achilles may be due to the poet's desire to explain the problems: (1) why was A.'s name missing from the many poems singing the praises of the heroes who fought at Troy? (2) why was Apollo, specially worshipped in Phocis, represented in the poems as hostile to Greece? (3) why did Zeus, husband of the Trojans' arch-foe Hera, nevertheless favour Troy? W. A. Baehrens, *Ad Panegyricos Latinos*. Notes mainly in defence of the MSS. readings, as being perfectly good though late Latin. So, e.g., omission of preposition with first of two nouns, *post* = *postquam*, om. of *ad* before gerundive, use of simple verbs for compounds (*uenire* = *euenire*), *quod* = *ut* consecutive, subjunctive with *ubi* or relatives, *in honore alicuius* (not *honorem*), redundant *enim*. J. J. Hartman, *Adn. crit. ad Plutarchi opera*. Marcellus, *Comparatio Pelopidae et M., Cato M., Comp. Aristidis et C., Philopoemen*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. 1910. 25. 7.

T. Plüss, *Technische Kunstgriffe und persönliche Kunst im Homer*. Necessary to distinguish between technical artifice and art. Even similes are often the natural and necessary expression of the poet's own personal conception of the character of the events to which they are applied. Zielinski's theory as to the incompatibility of contemporaneous events in poetry is not needed to explain, e.g., the fact that the description of the council of the Greeks in *Il.* 9 comes after that of the Trojans. The latter had to make up their minds at once whether to bivouac or return to the city; with the Greeks, a period of indecision would naturally follow on their defeat. I. Hammer-Jensen, *Die Druckwerke Herons von Alexandria* (contd. from part 6). Further evidence of incapacity. Language and style suggest the age of Ptolemy. R. Asmus, *Der Kyniker Sallustius bei Damascius*. Life and tenets, with esp. ref. to his attitude towards the new religion. A. Werminghoff, *Die Monumenta Germaniae historica*. Account of the scope and progress of the work. R. M. Meyer, *Zur Psychologie der Produktivität*.

1910. 25. 8.

T. Wiegand, *Priene*. Descriptive matter to accompany Zippelius' reconstruction (of which a reproduction is given, with many other illustrations). G. Herbig, *Epigraphik und Sprachwissenschaft*. Plea for the combination of the two studies in the case of dead (but not only Indo-Germanic) languages. Summary of the epigraphic material, from the inscriptions of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria to the German runes. Importance of it from the point of view of (1) the subject, (2) the manner of tradition,

(3) evidence as to development of dialects, (4) relation to earliest writing. B. Warnecke, *Gebärdenspiel und Mimik der röm. Schauspieler. Mitteilungen*: P. Thomsen, *Handschriftenphotographie*. Describes his experiences in photographing MSS. in the Patriarchate library of Jerusalem.

1910. 25. 9.

B. Sauer, *Die Athena Lemnia des Pheidias*. Furtwängler's statue the work of some great rival of P.'s. The pose has none of the stiffness and 'frontality' that characterize the Parthenos and Medici statues, nor is the proportion between head and body Phidian. H. Meltzer, *Die Aussprache des klass. Griechisch und Latein sprachwissenschaftlich betrachtet*. Enumerates the various means at our disposal in attempting to solve the problem, laying special stress on the help to be obtained from Romance languages as to quantity of vowels long by position. Opposes the theory that Modern Greek can be taken as a safe guide in deciding the pronunciation of the ancient language. Calls for official action and the publication of a small programme similar to those published in England. G. Roloff, *Die Entthronung der spanischen Bourbonen im Jahre 1808*. H. Mayne, *Neuere Goethe-Literatur. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: W. Süss's *Ethos* reviewed by W. Nestle. 'Gives more than its title promises, likely to act fruitfully on various branches of investigation.' M. Siebourg, *Zu Horat. Carm. 1. 24. Non ita creditum: sc. a dis Vergilio*.

Rheinisches Museum. 65. 3. 1910.

F. Solmsen, *Zu dem neugefundenen arkadischen Synoikievertrag*. The phrase ἐπὶ χαριάδαι = 'in the time of Ch.' (the dative thus in two other Arc. inscriptions), eponym of a previous year. The writing η for ε before vowels suggests a fairly late year of the 3rd cent. The Εὐαίμνιοι (= Εὐαίμόνιοι) get their name from αἴμων not αἶμα. G. Mercati, *Appunti sui palinsesto Vat. gr. 1456*. Belongs to 11th or 12th cent., and comes from S. Italy. 310 pp. have fallen out after f. 109: we know from a description in a list of Cardinal Sirleto's MSS. that this MS. once contained a mutilated copy of the Lexicon ascribed to Cyrillos. H. Rabe, *Die Listen griechischer Profanschriftsteller*. Edition of Tab. C, with critical notes from Vat. gr. 1456, Bodl. Misc. 211, Barocc. 125. The last-mentioned MS. omits the first five sections (poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, historians, doctors), doubtless being a copy from the Vatican MS., in which the first four sections and half of the fifth are omitted, and the portion of the fifth section preserved is almost illegible. T. Birt, *Nachträgliches zu Vergils Catalepton*. 9. 35 raptum = 'rape'; Poem 12 explained; Poem 13 written before 44 when Caesar finally abolished the *collegia Compitalicia*; 2b 4 Ausonius' *sil* a corruption of *psin*, a variant for *spin*; and other remarks. F. Reuss, *Das Schlachtfeld am Trasimenersee*. Against Kromayer's Passignano-Toricella theory. K. Witte, *Ueber die Form der Darstellung in Livius Geschichtswerk* (continued from part 2). (3) Connection of events related separately by Polybius. (4) Application of the three methods in Decades 4 and 5. (5) Descriptions of battles. (6) Close examination of the Polybian parts of Books 21, 22. T. Stangl, *Bobiensia*. Emendations, etc., to scholia on the *In Vatin.*, *In Clod. et Cur.*, *De aere al. Milonis*, *Pro rege Alexandrino*, *Pro Archia*, *Pro Sulla*. W. Süss, *Zwei Bemerkungen zur Technik der Komödie*. 1. Relation between the rhetorical theory of the prooemium and the prologue of Comedy traced in both forms of Aristophanic comedy, Plautus and Terence. 2. Similarity between the loose, banqueting scenes at the close of the Aristophanic and Plautine plays. Special examination of the *Stichus*, *Asinaria* and *Casina*. W. Crönert, *Variae lectiones*. Notes on *μνήσεται* in Anacreon, wrong citations for *ἀάειν* in Herwerden's *Appendix lexicæ Graeci*, Zimmermann's ed. of Lucian's *Podagra*, *ψωλοκοπῶ* in Lucilius. *Miszellen*: L. Radermacher, *Zu Platons Menon*. In 91 C read *μηδένα τῶν σύγ γε νῦν*;

L. Radermacher, *Metrische Inschrift*. Defence of Εὐράρες με πατερ at the beginning of a hexameter in spite of the fact that the *a* is short. A. Körte, *Zu dem Berliner metrischen Papyrus*. Completes the sample line 11 with the words παῖ Μενουρίου (from Nauck T. G. F. Adesp. 138). T. Birt, *Lares semitales*. C. I. L. 11. 3079 and inscr. on an altar recently dug up at Rome. R. Sabbadini, *Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Cod. Medicus des Vergilius*. Came about 1470 from Bobbio to the Church of St. Paul at Rome; in 1500-1507 in the Vatican, which it entered about 1484 and left before 1521.

65. 4.

A. Riese, *Zur latein. Anthologie*. 1. Addenda mainly to the app. crit. of his Anth. Lat. 2. The poems of Isidorus of Seville (edited with intr. and critical notes). S. Glöckner, *Aus Sopatros Μεταποιήσεις*. Text of fragment containing a version in various styles of Il. 17, 629 sqq. S. Sudhaus, *Zum Aufbau der Aristophanischen Lieder*. The first step towards the stanza (Stollen) composition visible in A. long before the antistrophic form was entirely discarded. Symmetry of the *Lysistrata* parodos. Comparison of the structure of *Aues* 1313-1334 with that of *Menaechni* 351-368. Symmetry in two cantica of the *Captivi* (516-540, 498-515). In *Capt.* 502 read *restituendo retinendoque reddiderunt*; in 513 long stop to be after *hic*, not *me*. C. Jensen, *De Menandri cod. Cairensi*. Critical notes and emendations based on a new examination of the MS. J. has several times found in traces of letters confirmation of the emendations of modern scholars: so e.g. *Disc.* 325 ἦ (Wilamowitz), 340 τοπαστικόν (idem), 552 οἱ θεοί (von Arnim); *Sam.* 272 καί (Sudhaus), 331 δαῖτα (Körte), *Circumt.* 163 ἐκρινῇ (Wilamowitz), 204 (σκατόφαγος) γάρ (Sudh.). Among passages treated are *Disc.* 359, 432-456; *Sam.* 96-105, 118 (read ἐμοί τε παρατεταγμέν-ος), *Circumt.* 77-86, 146 (μικρὸν ἔτι μέινον). E. Bickel, *Die Nomenklatur der materfamilias vor dem Jahre 527/227*. Originally marriage with *manus* involved the wife's adoption of the husband's gentile name: in the 'Poublilia Turpilia Cn. uxor' of C. I. L. 14. 4270 and 'Dindia Macolnia' of C. I. L. 14. 4112 (cp. also C. I. E. 4785) the second name is the gentile name of the husband. Schulze's theory as to the adjectival force ('Turpilian wife of Cn.') is wrong. The disappearance of this style of nomenclature after the 6th cent. of the city probably marks the change that seems to have been made in the legal position of the *materfamilias*, whereby she secured the right to demand remancipation. Relation of the story of the first divorce at Rome (Gell. 4. 3 = 227 B.C.) to this. A. Klotz, 'Ὀδοιπορία ἀπὸ Ἐδέμ τοῦ παραδείσου ἄχρι τῶν Ρωμαίων. Light thrown by this work (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 36753, Cod. Dresden. 52) on the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*. (Geog. Lat. Min. 104 R). A. Brinkmann, *Die Protheorie zur Biographie eines Neoplatonikers*. A rhetorical ἀνέκδοτον published by Usener in *Wiener Stud.* 10. 198 sqq. explained as an introduction to the life of a great philosopher, probably that of Isidorus by Damascius. F. Skutsch, *Firmiciana*. Relations of F. to Manilius. *Miszellen*: C. Jensen, *Zu Menanders Epitrepontes*. In 432 sqq. (the ἀναγνωρισμός scene) it is Pamphile, not Sophrone that is on the stage; W. Crönert, *Ein Epigramm aus Astypalaia*; E. Lattes, *Ancora dei numerali e dei nomi di mese etruschi*. *Ci* = five; *cez*- is to Coptic *sas'*f, Basque *zazp* what *semf*- is to *septem*; the gloss *xofer* = *utofer* = October; A. Klotz, *Ein Luciliuszitat*. Fragm. 659 M referred to by Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 490 sq.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1910.

6 June. H. Wolf, *Geschichte des antiken Sozialismus und Individualismus* (Fr. Cauer), favourable on the whole. F. Wipprecht, *Zur Entwicklung der rationalistischen Mythendeutung bei den Griechen*. II. (H. Steuding), favourable. J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (J. Ziehen), favourable. M. H. Morgan, *Addresses and Essays* (J. Ziehen), on Latin and Greek literature. Tacitus, *Annalen*, deutsch von

A. Horneffer (Ed. Wolff). Fr. v. Velsen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des edictum praetoris urbani* (E. Grupe), very favourable. G. Beseler, *Beiträge zur Kritik der römischen Rechtsquellen* (E. Grupe), unfavourable. *Lucian's Dialogues*, by W. H. D. Rouse (P. Schulze), favourable, 'L. is too difficult for junior classes.'

13 June. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Catalogus eener verzameling Egyptische, Grieksche, Romeinsche en andere oudheden* (E. Buschor). E. Mueller, *De Graecorum deorum partibus tragicis* (Chr. Muff), favourable. J. Nicole, *Le Procès de Pheidias dans les Chroniques d'Apollodore*. *D'après un Papyrus inédit de la Collection de Genève* (F. Cauer), favourable. Katharine C. Reiley, *Studies in the Philosophical Terminology of Lucretius and Cicero* (J. Tolkiehn). 'A useful performance.' T. Livi, *Ab urbe condita libri*. W. Weissenborns erklärende Ausg. neubearb. von H. J. Müller. IX. 2 (Buch 41-42), 3 Aufl. (Ed. Wolff). J. M. Heer, *Die Stammbäume Jesu nach Matthäus und Lukas* (Soltau), unfavourable. A. Goethals, *Mélanges d'Histoire du Christianisme*. I. *Josèphe Témoin de Jésus* (Soltau), unfavourable. J. Holub, *Ein Beitrag zur einfachsten Lösung der sozialen Frage oder Luk. 16 und Folgerungen* (F. Cauer), unfavourable.

20 June. Plato, *The Symposium*, by R. G. Bury (R. Adam), favourable. A. Hilka, *Zur Alexandersage. Zur Textkritik von Alexanders Brief an Aristoteles über die Wunder Indiens* (Fr. Pfister), favourable. G. Reichel, *Quaestiones Progymnasmaticae* (H. Mutschmann), favourable. H. Meusel, *Jahresbericht über Cäsar* (E. A.), rather unfavourable. D. Detlefsen, *Die Anordnung der geographischen Bücher des Plinius und ihre Quellen* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable.

27 June. *Genethliakon*, C. Robert zum 8 März, 1910, überreicht von der Graeca Halensis (G. J. Schneider). K. Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden* (H. Steuding). 'No new results.' A. de Marchi, *Vesti, armi, riti e costumi nel codice omerico illustrato dell' Ambrosiana* (Chr. Harder), favourable on the whole. Aeschylus, *The Eumenides*, by A. W. Verrall (F. Adami), favourable. Aeschylus, *The Suppliant Maidens, the Persians, the Seven against Thebes, the Prometheus Bound*, transl. by E. D. A. Morshead (F. Adami), favourable. L. E. Lord, *Literary Criticism of Euripides in the Earlier Scholia* (K. Busche). 'Does not decide the question of origin.' A. Choisy, *Vitruve* (A. Köster), favourable. J. M. Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence* (Fr. Schuster). 'A thankworthy contribution.'

4 July. *Münchener archäologische Studien*. Dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidmet (A. Trendelenburg). W. Schnabel, *Textkritische Beiträge zu den Hiketiden des Aeschylus* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. Aeschylus, *The Seven against Thebes*, by T. G. Tucker (F. Adami), favourable. E. A. Sonnenschein, *The Unity of the Latin Subjunctive: A Quest* (H. Blase). 'A model of historical investigation.' Ch. Huelsen, *Die neuesten Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum* (Köhler).

11 July. O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*. I. *Säugetiere* (Fr. Harder), very favourable. W. A. Oldfather, *Lokrika. Sagenschichtliche Untersuchungen* (H. Steuding). 'Results of small importance.' J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (R. Wagner), favourable. H. Priess, *Usum adverbii quatenus fugerint poetae Latini quidam dactyllici* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Chief value lies in the statistics.' Haberling, *Die Militär-lazarette im alten Rom* (W. Schonack), favourable.

18 July. *The Twenty-Second Book of the Iliad*, by A. Pallis (P. Cauer), unfavourable on the whole. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*. III. *La Conquête romaine et les premières Invasions germaniques* (H. Meusel), very favourable. P. Menge, *Ist Cäsar der Verfasser des Abschnittes über Kurios Feldzug in Afrika?* (K. Löschhorn). 'Shows diligence and sound judgment.' Cäsar, *Der Bürgerkrieg*, deutsch von A. Horneffer (Ed. Wolff), favourable. F. Studniczka, *Zur Ara Pacis* (Köhler), favourable.

E. Hedicke, *Studia Bentleiana*. VI. *Lucanus Bentleianus*. I. (K. Löschhorn). 'Sound work.' M. Goguel, *L'Évangile de Marc et ses Rapports avec ceux de Mathieu et de Luc* (Soltau). 'An admirable contribution.'

25 July. C. H. Hawes and H. B. Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece* (A. Köster), favourable. *Homeri Opera*, rec. D. B. Monro et T. W. Allen. I. II. *Ilias*. Ed. alt. (P. Cauer). 'On the whole the text is unaltered.' *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, publiée sous la direction de Th. Homolle et M. Holleaux. I. *Introduction*, par A. Bellot. II. *La Salle hypostyle*, par Gabriel Leroux (P. Goessler). H. Schnabel, *Kordax* (H. Blümner). 'Must be reckoned with.' G. Kip, *Thessalische Studien* (G. J. Schneider), favourable. M. Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente in der griechischen Kunst bis Polygnot* (H. Blümner). 'Sound and learned.' H. F. Hitzig, *Die Herkunft des Schwurgerichts im römischen Strafprozess* (E. Grupe), favourable. L. Reinhardt, *Zur Kritik und Erklärung des Mostellaria des Plautus* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. G. Curcio, *Orazio studiato da Fr. Petrarca* (H. Röhl), favourable. A. Castiglioni, *Analecta Planudea ad Ovidii Metamorphoses spectantia* (Fr. Pfister). 'Against H. W. H. Müller.' *Calpurniani et Nemesiani Bucolica*, rec. C. Giarratano (M. Manitius), favourable. E. B. van Deman, *The Atrium Vestae* (Köhler), favourable. G. F. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Augustus* (H. v. Fritze). 'Much to be recommended.' S. Feist, *Europa im Lichte der Vorgeschichte und die Ergebnisse der vergleichenden indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft* (E. Zupitza), unfavourable.

8 Aug. L. Pareti, *Intorno al Περὶ γῆς δι' Ἀπολλodoro* (U. Hofer), favourable. E. Bodrero, *Eraclito. Testimonianze e frammenti* (W. Nestle), very favourable. M. H. Morgan, *Critical and Explanatory Notes on Vitruvius* (H. Nohl), very favourable. V. Mortet, *Remarques sur la Langue de Vitruve I.*, also *Recherches critiques sur Vitruve et son Œuvre* (IV. V. VI.), and *Lexicographie archéologique* (H. Nohl). 'These works do not go deep enough.' J. Sajdak, *Nazianzenica* (J. Dräseke), very favourable. *Poèmes Prodromiques en Grec vulgaire*, édités par D. C. Hesselning et H. Pernot (G. Wartenberg), favourable. *Λογογραφία. Δελτίον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λογογραφικῆς ἑταιρίας*. I. 4 (G. Wartenberg). Fr. Nietzsche's Werke. XVII. 3. Band I. *Philologica, Gedrucktes und Ungedrucktes aus den Jahren 1866-1877*. Herausg. von E. Holzer. I. (W. Nestle). 'Much that is valuable may be found here.'

LANGUAGE.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXVII. Band, 1 und 2 Heft.

H. Güntert, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Gradationsbildungen*, pp. 1-72. E. Kieckers, *Das Eindringen der Κοινή in Kreta*, pp. 72-118. A very interesting article, showing by means of statistical and chronological tables how 'Common Greek' gradually encroached upon the local idioms of Crete. It is to be hoped that a series of similar investigations will be undertaken for other districts of Greece. There is abundant material; but with the exception of Pergamum (cf. E. Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, 1898), Egypt and the Papyri have almost entirely monopolized the attention of scholars. Karl Brugmann, *Der sogenannte Akkusativ der Beziehung im Arischen, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Germanischen*, pp. 121-151. This number also contains a short article by L. Sütterlin on *Rotundus and Gerundial Forms in Latin*, pp. 118-120.

XXVII. Band, 3 und 4 Heft.

H. Osthoff, *Zur Entlabialisierung der Labiovelare im Keltischen*, pp. 161-193, unfinished owing to the writer's death. Albert Thumb, *Zur Aktionsart der mit Präpositionen*

zusammengesetzten Verba im Griechischen, pp. 195-199. v. Grienberger, *Die Fragmente saliarischer Verse bei Varro und Scaurus*, pp. 199-232. Karl Brugmann, *Adverbia aus dem maskulinischen Nominativus Singularis prädikativer Adjektiva*, pp. 233-278. *Anzeiger* 1 Heft. Reviews of Bechtel: *Die Vocalcontraction bei Homer*, by Albert Thumb; and of Mutzbauer; *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre*, by Hans Meltzer, both very favourable. R. Thurneysen also contributes an appreciative criticism of Holger Pedersen's masterly *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, a work which will to some extent make up for the delay in the appearance of a revised edition of Zeuss-Ebel's *Grammatica Celtica*, planned many years ago by H. Zimmer, but interrupted by his illness, and left unfinished at his death (July 29, 1910). Thurneysen's latest work, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen: Grammatik, Texte und Wörterbuch*, is favourably reviewed by J. Vendryes of the Sorbonne, who himself published an exhaustive *Grammaire du Vieil-Irlandais* in 1908. This Heft of the *Anzeiger* concludes with an obituary notice of Karl Krumbacher.

T. H. W.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

American Journal of Archaeology. XIII. No. 4. 1909.

R. Pagenstecher, *Dated Sepulchral Vases from Alexandria* (Plates IX-XII). The so-called Hadra vases; from the evidence of the inscriptions their manufacture is assigned to second and third quarters of third century B.C. L. C. Cummings, *The Tychaion at Iş-Şanamên* (Plate XIII). Description of temple at ancient Aere in Syria, built in 192 A.D. P. V. C. Baur, *A Fragment of a Painted Pithos from Cnossos*. Representation of women on vase of pre-Mycenean period. Florence M. Bennett, *The So-called Mourning Athena*. The pillar in this relief explained as a symbol originating in the ancient aniconic idol. Elizabeth M. Gardiner and K. K. Smith, *The Group dedicated by Daochus at Delphi* (Plate XIV). Suggested identification of the nine statues and restoration of the monument. *Archaeological Discussions*, ed. W. N. Bates.

XIV. No. 1. 1910.

S. G. Morley, *A Group of Related Structures at Uxmal, Mexico* (Plates I-II). G. W. Elderkin, *The Fountain of Glauce at Corinth* (Plate III). Description of the fountain mentioned by Pausanias, and discovered, but not cleared, in the American excavations of 1900. Plans and photographs. R. v. D. Magoffin, *Unpublished Inscriptions from Latium*. Collection of forty-five short texts, and some corrections of the *Corpus* readings. N. Schmidt and B. B. Charles, *Greek Inscriptions from the Negeb*. Christian epitaphs of about the fifth century, and a curious metrical inscription perhaps of same date. *General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America* (summaries of papers read). *Archaeological News*, ed. W. N. Bates.

XIV. No. 2. 1910.

W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Gates of the Propylaea at Athens* (2 plates, 15 cuts). Study of the four gables of the main building, and that of S.W. wing; E. façade is best preserved, and yields most evidence. G. W. Elderkin, *Notes on Greek Vase-Paintings* (2 cuts). Discusses architectural details on Theseus cups, and b.f. fragment from Praesos. S. G. Morley, *The Correlation of Maya and Christian Chronology*. *Archaeological Discussions* (July-Dec., 1909), ed. W. N. Bates. *Bibliography* (1909), ed. W. N. Bates.

Athenische Mitteilungen. XXXIV. Heft 3. 1909.

A. Struck, *Vier byzantinische Kirchen der Argolis* (Plates VI-XI). Twelfth-century buildings at Plataniti, Chonika, Merbaka, and Areia, fully illustrated with drawings and photographs. A. v. Premerstein, *Die Urkunde eines arkadischen Synoikismos*. Inscribed marble pillar discovered near Orchomenos in 1906. K. Müller, *Alt-Pylos. II. Die Funde aus den Kuppelgräbern von Kakovatos* (Plates XII-XXIV). The tombs had been plundered; the remains consist chiefly of Mycenaean vases, with some gold jewellery and small objects in glass, amber and ivory.

XXXV. Hefte 1-2. 1910.

Margarete Bieber, *Attische Reliefs in Cassel* (Plates I-IV). Four small reliefs from the series brought from Athens by Hessian soldiers in 1688. S. Wide, *Gräberfunde aus Salamis* (Plates V-VI). Mostly vases representing the transition from Mycenaean to Geometric style. Excavated in 1893. J. Sundwall, *Eine neue Seeeurkunde*. Inscription in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (no. 224). An extract from the accounts of the dockyard superintendents in 365/4 B.C. N. I. Giannopulos, *Prähistorische Funde aus Thessalien*. Short account of neolithic terracottas and vases from a mound near Scotussa. B. Sauer, *Ein altes Parthenonproblem* (Plate VII). Torso at Athens assigned to a place in north end of West Pediment. H. Lattermann, *Zur Topographie des Amphiareions bei Oropos*. Inscription excavated by Leonardos (I. G., VII., 4255), recording the course of an aqueduct in the Temenos. A. v. Premerstein, *Phratern-Verbände auf einem attischen Hypothekenstein*. G. Rodenwaldt, *Zu den Grabstelen von Pagasae*. Greek painting of third century B.C. O. Walter, *Ein Denkmal des Meterkultes in Sophia*. Stone with Greek and Latin inscriptions of the time of Hadrian; suggested restoration of the texts. H. Priny, *Bemerkungen zur altkretischen Religion. I.* E. Nachmanson, *Grabschrift aus Smyrna. Sitzungs-Protocolle*.

XXXV. Heft 3. 1910.

A. Brueckner, *Kerameikos-Studien* (5 plates, 8 cuts). Discusses ground-plan of State cemetery, the ἐπιτάφιος ἄγών in the 5th century, the tombs of the Polyandron, and monuments of 394 B.C., with illustrations from vases. A. Frickenhaus, *Heilige Stätten in Delphi* (2 plates, 10 cuts). Development of temple of Athena Pronaia, 700-300 B.C., and sites of tomb of Neoptolemos and the Spring Kassotis (both at N.E. corner of Apollo-temple). G. Oikonomos, *Neue Bergwerksurkunde aus Athen*. Transcribes inscription of 348-7 B.C. found in old Agora in 1908, with commentary. S. A. Xanthudides, *Epinetron* (7 cuts). Modern Cretan customs suggest its use for drawing out lumps of wool into fine threads which were wound round it. E. Maass, *Lage des Demos Leukonoe; Aglaurion*. The former lay near Menidi. G. Karo, *Ein gestohlener Ring* (from the Candia Museum).

Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts. XXV. Heft 1. 1910.

A. Conze, *Eine griechische Stadt* (2 plates, 12 cuts). An unknown site explored in Mysia, near Myrina. A. Reichel, *Βοῶπις* (4 cuts). Homer's epithet perhaps derived from reminiscences of 'Minoan' art. E. Pfuhl, *Apollodoros ὁ σκιαγράφος*. Explains σκιαγραφία as perspective treatment of space in landscapes, developed by Apollodoros; later writers misunderstood the term. H. Harbeck, *Zwei neue Zeichnungen von Melchior Lorichs* (3 cuts). Drawings of monuments at Constantinople found at Copenhagen. *Anzeiger*: O. Hamdi Bey (obituary notice). Nabataean tomb-façades (O. Puchstein; 16 cuts). Munich acquisitions, 1907-08. Berlin arch. Gesellschaft, June, 1909. Notices. Bibliography.

XXV. Heft 2. 1910.

H. Steinmetz, *Windgötter* (Plate). Representations of wind-gods in Roman monuments, and of Boreas and Zephyros on Greek vases; publishes head at Göttingen. H. Thiersch, *Alexandrine royal Cemeteries*. History of tomb of Alexander at Alexandria and those of Polemies erected on the same site. B. Schulz, *The Porta Aurea at Spalato* (5 cuts). Further discussion, with reference to Niemann's criticisms in *Jahreshefte*, xii., p. 340 ff. *Anzeiger*: A. Michaelis (obituary notice). *Deutsches Arch. Inst.* (report). *Archaeological Discoveries in 1909* (109 cuts). *Notices*. *Bibliography*.

Revue Archéologique. XV. Janvier-Février, 1910.

A. J. Reinach, *Le Disque de Phaistos et les Peuples de la Mer*. Long discussion of the pictographic inscription on the terracotta disc found in the First Palace (Middle Minoan III) at Phaistos. C. Picard, *Statuette Archaique de Femme Assise*. Small limestone figure in the Louvre, of Branchidae type, with incised geometric decoration on drapery. G. Ferrero, *La Date de l'Annexion de la Gaule*. C. Jullian, *Réponse à M. Ferrero*. L. Delaparte, *Cylindres Royaux de l'Époque de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne*. S. Reinach, *Les Têtes des Médaillons de l'Arc de Constantin à Rome* (Plates I-XVII). Photographs of all the heads in the eight medallions, from casts which have recently been made from the examples in the Museum of Saint-Germain. Notes by S. de Ricci and F. Studniczka. J. Hatzfeld, *Démétrius Poliorcète et la Victoire de Samothrace*. Connection with Demetrius rejected on historical grounds; suggested Rhodian work and dedication. G. Ancey, *Sur Deux Épigrammes de Crinagoras*. References to exploitation of antiquities from the cemetery of old Corinth by the new Roman colony; and to the death of the younger Cleopatra, wife of Juba, dated the 22nd of March in the year 5 B.C. Émile Male, *Le Groupe de la Visitation à la Cathédrale de Reims. Variétés*. Notes on E. Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums* (1909) — *Quinze Siècles d'Histoire babylonienne*, S. Reinach; *El-Kab*, G. Maspero (letter to the *Times*, 4 Jan. 1910). *Bulletin mensuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Nouvelles archéologiques et correspondance. Bibliographie*.

Mars-Avril, 1910.

A. Loisy, *Récit du Déluge dans la Tradition de Nippour*. A. Martin, *Temple of Lanleff*. W. Deonna, *Vases peints du Musée de Berne* (14 cuts). Four R.F. vases hitherto unpublished. F. de Mély, *Ugo de Vosor ou Nabuchodonosor*. W. von Bissing, *Débuts de la Statuaire en Égypte*. *Bulletin mensuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Nouvelles archéologiques. Bibliographie*. Cagnat and Besnier, *Publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité Romaine*.

Mai-Juin, 1910.

W. Deonna, *Le Gaulois de Délos* (2 cuts). In reality a Pergamene giant. Th. Reinach, *Un nouveau Sous-Préfet Romain de Tarantaise*. Stone altar found in 1909 with name of T. Accius Secundus, a beneficiarius of the *procurator Augusti* at Eburodunum (Embrun, Alpes Supérieures). F. de Mély, *Les Miniaturistes et leurs Signatures*. S. Reinach, *L'enlèvement de Proserpine par Léonard de Vinci* (10 cuts). A sketch by Leonardo served as a model for Renaissance representations of Hercules and Antaeus. *Société des Antiquaires de France* (and the other items as before).

XVI. Juillet-Août, 1910.

L. Joulin, *Les Âges protohistoriques dans le Sud de la France et dans la Péninsule hispanique* (map). General survey of remains in South France down to the Roman conquest. P. Durrien, *Les très belles Heures de Notre-Dame*. Roblot-Delondre, *Argote de Molina et les Tableaux de Pardo*. G. Millet, *L'Octateuque Byzantin*. O. Tafrali, *Les Monuments Roumains d'après les Publications récentes*. S. de Ricci, *Sarapis et Sinope*. Traces connection between Sarapis and bull-god of Sinope. (Other items as before).

H. B. WALTERS.

NUMISMATICS.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 1. 1910.

Rev. A. W. Hands, *Juno Moneta*. Gives an account of Assmann's theory as to the derivation of *Moneta* from *Machanat* 'camp,' a word that is inscribed on silver Carthaginian coins current in Sicily and Italy before the Punic Wars. The writer states that his object in preparing this paper was to bring Dr. Assmann's suggestion to the notice of the members of the Royal Numismatic Society of London. Assmann's paper was published in *Klio* in the year 1906, and though it may be the lamentable fact that 'the German publication called *Klio* is not very commonly met with in the homes of English numismatists,' it is surely a periodical not quite so unknown to English students of ancient history and numismatics as Mr. Hands's remark would lead our German friends to suppose. G. C. Brooke, *A Find of Roman Denarii at Castle Bromwich*. This small hoard was contained in an earthenware pot found in 1909 at Castle Bromwich, near Birmingham. It consisted mainly of 176 Imperial denarii, from Vespasian to Commodus. There were also 18 Imperial denarii of copper washed with silver, and five legionary denarii of M. Antonius such as are often found in hoards of Imperial coins. Mr. Brooke gives a good detailed description of the coins, with references to Cohen.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Parts 1 and 2. 1910.

Coinage of Juba II., King of Mauretania, 25 B.C.—A.D. 23. A great find of denarii of this king—perhaps 4,000 specimens—was made in 1908 in Morocco at Kasr-el-Kebir in the province of Larrache (el Araïsch). This hoard has now been dispersed, but specimens forwarded from Tangier have fallen into good hands. The Paris collection has acquired many examples, already published by Dieudonné; more than a hundred were obtained by the Museum at Algiers, and the British Museum has purchased a selection. In the present half-volume of the *Z. f. N.*, Imhoof-Blumer (p. 1 f.) gives descriptions of specimens acquired for his own collection, and a still larger series, secured by the Berlin Museum, is published by Regling (p. 9 f.). (The Berlin selection includes also a bronze coin of Juba with the name of the Mauretanian town Semes.) Both writers agree that the hoard was deposited about A.D. 17, and Regling divides the coinage—which displays various reverse types—into 7 main classes:—1. Without date. 2. With date in Roman numerals. 3. With date in Greek numerals. 4. With the names of *Rex Juba* and (in Greek) 'Queen Cleopatra.' 5. With the names and portraits of Juba and Cleopatra. 6. With the portrait of Cleopatra alone. 7. With the names and portraits of *Rex Juba* and *Rex Ptolemaeus Jubae* F.—Dr. R. Weil (p. 28 f.) writes on the remarkable Phoenician coin (early fourth century B.C., of Gaza or Askalon) in the British Museum bearing the name *Jahve* in Aramaic characters. Here we have, apparently, a 'Baal' of Philistia, designated as *Jahve* and represented in a winged car that recalls the chariot of Triptolemus on Greek vases. Weil remarks on the relations of the Greeks, especially Athenians, with the Syrian coast, one proof of which is the existence of numerous Syrian imitations of the coins of Athens. R. Bräuer, *Die Heraklestaten auf antiken Münzen*. A very useful collection (pp. 35-112, with 4 plates) of Greek coin-types relating to the Labours of Hercules. The coins are grouped together under subjects, but from the geographical index appended a reader can judge of the local distribution of the types. Representations of the Labours are rare on coins of the autonomous period, perhaps because elaborate pictorial compositions did not then often find favour with the die-engravers. In the Imperial age, and from the time of Antoninus

Pius onwards, the Labours are frequently depicted, and the practice of striking large 'medallions' facilitated this. We have a whole cycle at Alexandria in Egypt, at Heraclea on the Black Sea, Hadrianopolis and Perinthus. The Emperors Postumus and Maximianus and the Bosporanic King Sauromates II. especially affect these types. The die-engraver of Imperial times probably invented little, but used older models, especially the sarcophagus-reliefs. It is pointed out that Herakles on the autonomous coins is always beardless, but on the Imperial coins bearded. *Reviews.* Wroth's *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, by K. Regling (pp. 236-242).

Revue Numismatique. Part 1. 1910.

Castellane, *Sou d'or de l'Empereur Gratien*. A new solidus, probably struck at Sirmium in 378, showing the Emperor with a slight beard. Two other valuable articles hardly come within our province, one by Allotte de la Fuye on the coins of Sogdiana (rude 'tetradrachms' with a figure of Herakles), the other by Blanchet on some unpublished Byzantine coins, among which is a gold solidus or 'nomisma' of the joint-reign of Andronicus II. and Andronicus III. (A.D. 1325-1328), which is important as proving that the gold coinage of the later Emperors of Byzantium was more abundant than has hitherto been supposed.

Part 2. 1910.

De Foville concludes his descriptive account of the Greek coins of the Valton collection in the Bibliothèque nationale. E. Duprat contributes a study of the coins of Avennio (Avignon), and Blanchet describes inedited coins of Victorinus and Tetricus I. A sestertius ('large brass') of Hadrian has been utilized by Victorinus as a *flan* for his own types, and, similarly, Tetricus re-strikes a sestertius of the second century. In the *Mélanges* (p. 228) Babelon gives an interesting sketch of the writings of Allotte de La Fuye on the numismatics of Parthia, Elymais and Persis, writings which have recently gained for him the Prix Drouin of the French Academy.

Rivista italiana di Numismatica. Part 1. 1910.

F. Gnechi, *L'opera deleteria dei restauratori sui Medaglioni*. Instances are given of the way in which specimens of Roman medallions have been tampered with and retouched. The specimens examined by Gnechi are in the Museums of Naples, Florence and Madrid, but he fears that his comparatively short list could be considerably extended. The article is accompanied by an instructive plate. L. Laffranchi writes (p. 21) on the *asses* and *dupondii* struck in commemoration of Augustus and of Agrippa; also (p. 31) on the later Roman mints which bear identical mint-marks; thus, T indicates not only Ticinum, but also Treviri and Thessalonica.

Part 2. 1910.

E. Seltman. *Il Medaglione d'Agrigento*. G. Pansa, *Intorno a due bronzi semioncia da restituirsi alla gente Rubria*. From a note on p. 292, we learn that Gnechi is now ready to begin the printing of his *Corpus* of Roman medallions.

Journal internationale d'Archéologie numismatique. Vol. xii. Parts 1 and 2. 1909-1910.

In this half-volume are especially to be noted a description by M. Bahrfeldt of Roman gold coins bearing the portraits of M. Antonius, Octavia and Antyllus, and an account by Svoronos, prepared with his usual thoroughness, of a hoard of Roman money discovered in Delos in 1910, and consisting of 3,797 bronze coins, ranging in date from Claudius Gothicus to Constantine II.

WARWICK WROTH.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL 1911.

SOPHOCLEA.

VI.

OEDIPUS COLONEUS.

540. δῶρον ὃ μήποτ' ἐγὼ ταλακάρδιος
ἐπωφέλῃσα πόλεος ἐξελέσθαι.

I need scarcely say that I do not propose to disturb Jebb's celebrated emendation of this passage in so far as the construction of *μήποτ' ἐξελέσθαι* is concerned. But I do think that there is yet a difficulty left. How can Oedipus be said to have 'taken Iocasta as a gift out of the city'? Or how can the Greek mean 'receive her *from* the city'? *πολλῶν ἐξελέσθαι* would be right for 'to choose out from among many possessions' (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 975), but I desiderate examples of such a phrase as *πόλεος ἐξελέσθαι* in the sense here required. The suggested correction *ἐπωφελήσας* strikes me as harsh without an accusative. Might it not then be better to read *ἐπ' ὠφελήσει πόλεος*, 'on the strength of having served the city'? The change is scarcely, if at all, more violent; others might prefer *ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ*. That this phrase can also mean 'with a view to help' does not seem to me to matter.

If we read with Blaydes *ἐκδέχεσθαι* the difficulty about *πόλεος* disappears; the repetition of the compound *ἐκδέχεσθαι* after the simple *ἐδεξάμην* is no objection but rather a grace often sought by Sophocles, and the conjecture is exceedingly tempting. I should still prefer *ἐπ' ὠφελήσει* however to *ἐπωφελήσας*.

547. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ἀπώλεσα.

I still adhere to my opinion¹ that the meaning of this passage is: 'For I did kill my father, it is true, but I have a justification in that I did not know who it was,' and accordingly that the right reading is *καὶ γὰρ ἐμούς*. But the unmetrical *καὶ ἀπώλεσα* remains to be accounted for. The best way of emending would be, I think, to read *ἐφόνευσ' ἀπό τ' ὤλεσα*. This would easily give rise to *καὶ ἀπώλεσα*.

¹ *Cl. Rev.* vol. xiii., p. 147.

To say that ἀπώλεσα after ἐφόνευσα is 'intolerably weak' is rather reckless. What of ἔρρυτο κἀνέσωσε at *O. T.* 1351? This is exactly parallel in that the second verb is strengthened by composition with a preposition. Indeed, I suspect that this particular device was affected by Sophocles, for we find again ἔδειξε κἀνέφηνεν in a fragment of *Nauplius*.

Blaydes, reading οὗς ἐφόνευσ' ἀπό μ' ὤλεσαν, compares *Phil.* 917, ἀπό μ' ὀλεῖς. 'Ipse olim,' he continues, 'corrigebam τὸν πατέρ', οἶδ', ἐφόνευσα καὶ ὤλεσα,' which I mention to show that he also saw what is needed by the sense.

718. τῶν ἑκατομπόδων Νηρήδων ἀκόλουθος.

Why not τᾶν? I should like to add my protest against the ludicrous notion that there is any reference here to the number fifty. If it had occurred to Sophocles that anyone could imagine he was thinking of the arithmetical fact that fifty Nereids have a hundred feet, he would have altered his epithet in pious horror. The reference of the editors to Plato *Critias* 116 E suggests that Sophocles is really following an ancient tradition which made the Nereids a hundred. (Certain wisacres explained ἑκατόμβη to mean twenty-five animals, connecting it with βαίνω!)

877. XO. ὅσον λῆμ' ἔχων ἀφίκον, ξέν', εἰ τάδε δοκεῖς τελεῖν.

KP. δοκῶ. XO. τάνδ' ἄρ' οὐκέτι νέμω πόλιν.

The scholiast interprets νέμω by νομιῶ, on the strength of which νεμῶ is usually read here. If νέμω means 'think' or 'count' there can be no question that this is right, but νέμω πόλιν naturally means 'inhabit a city.' And which is the more forcible and better meaning: 'I will no longer reckon this to be a city,' or, 'this that I inhabit is no more a city'? Surely the latter. I believe then that the scholiast is mistaken and the MSS. should be adhered to.

Compare for instance *Ant.* 484:

ἦ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀνῆρ, αὕτη δ' ἀνῆρ,

and consider whether it is better to supply εἰμί or ἔσομαι.

1084. ἐωρήσασα τοῦμὸν ὄμμα.

Wunder's ἐωρήσασα is necessary here, whether the form αἰωρήσασα is or is not preferable in itself. In some kinds of lines a short first syllable may be replaced by a long without offence, but lines of the form — — | — — — — are as common in tragedy as Alexandrines in Dryden, and the first syllable can never be lengthened in the corresponding line. Here the antistrophe has μολεῖν γὰρ τᾶδε καὶ πολίταις.

At *O. T.* 1264 again both A and L read ἑώρας, corrupted by inferior MSS. to αἰώρας or αἰώραισιν. To assert that the corruption is in A and L is indeed hazardous, for scarcely ever has even one of the other MSS. preserved the truth against their united testimony.

There is nothing strange about the appearance of ἑώρα in Sophocles and

in late writers, while other classical writers prefer *αἰώρα*. The past tense of the verb *sing* is *sung* as a rule in Shakespeare, but *sang* is also used by him for the rhyme; *sung* is the regular form in Milton; then *sang* prevails in the eighteenth century. Thus in an early period we may have one form as the rule with the other exceptional, and the exceptional form may itself become the rule later.

1189.

ὥστε μηδὲ δρῶντά σε
τὰ τῶν κακίστων δυσσεβέστατ', ὦ πάτερ,
θέμις σέ γ' εἶναι κεῖνον ἀντιδρᾶν κακῶς.

It has been hotly disputed whether *θέμις* can be used indeclinably or whether we shall read *θέμιν*. The instances quoted for *θέμις* indeclinable are few and not very cogent, but the following seems to have been overlooked. *Christus patiens* 411: ὃς δὲ κέκραγε παῖδα σὸν θανεῖν θέμις (θέμι two MSS. impossibly). The context shows the meaning to be 'cries that it is lawful for thy son to be slain.'

1453.

ὀρᾷ ὀρᾷ ταῦτ' ἀεὶ χρόνος ἐπεὶ μὲν ἕτερα
τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶρ αὖθις αὖξων ἄνω.

Hartung's *στρέφω* for *ἐπεὶ* is supposed to be indicated by the scholia. I think that if we consider them attentively we shall see that they are explaining *ἐπεὶ* and that there is no basis whatever for *στρέφω*.

There are at least two distinct notes jumbled together. The first is this: τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς, μάτην γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀξίωμα δαιμόνων ἔχω φράσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀρᾷ ταῦτ' ἀεὶ χρόνος ἕτερα μὲν αὖξων ἄνω τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶρ αὖθις ὅ ἐστιν εἰς τὸ ἔμπαλιν τρέπων τὰ ἡδὴ αὐξηθέντα. The author of this read the verses as given above; he explained the order to be ἐπεὶ ὀρᾷ ταῦτ' ἀεὶ χρόνος, ἕτερα μὲν αὖξων ἄνω, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶρ αὖθις. Of course this is absurd, but it is no more absurd than many other scholia on Sophocles. If he had read *στρέφω*, he would not have put ἕτερα μὲν αὖξων ἄνω together as he does; he would have said ἕτερα μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔμπαλιν τρέπων τὰ δὲ αὖξων. As it is he makes *αὖξων* govern both ἕτερα and τὰ δέ, and by violently forcing *αὖθις* he makes *αὖθις αὖξων* mean εἰς τὸ ἔμπαλιν τρέπων.

The second note, which follows the first without so much as a comma to separate them, runs thus: οἷον πάντα ἔχει ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ὁ χρόνος, τὰ μὲν ὀρᾷ τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὀράται· τὰ γὰρ πραττόμενα τῷ χρόνῳ φαίνεται τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μεταβολαὶ καὶ ὀράται ὁ χρόνος πολλὰ μὲν αὖξων παρ' ἡμᾶρ πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔμπαλιν τρέπων. The author of this reads ὀρᾷ ὀράται τ' ἀεὶ χρόνος! He explains this to mean: 'All things that are done appear to time (i.e. time sees all things), that is to say many changes happen in time, and time itself is seen to exalt many things day by day and to overthrow many.' The latter part is the same explanation as that of the former scholiast who had *ἐπεὶ* in his text; hence it is plain that here also it lends no support to *στρέφω*. The second scholiast no doubt took *ἐπεὶ* in the same way as the first did, but his note leaves this uncertain.

It is something to clear the way so far, but being thrown back upon *ἐπεὶ* I do not know that I can proceed farther with much confidence. We cannot be sure even of the metre, the corresponding line being also corrupt. But on the face of it *ὀρᾷ ὀρᾷ ταῦτ' αἰεὶ* is to be scanned $\sim \sim \sim - | - \sim - |^1$ and we should therefore rather expect to follow with $\sim \sim \sim - | \sim \sim \sim -$ than with $\sim - \sim - | \sim \sim \sim -$. Hence the most likely reading seems to me to be:

*ὀρᾷ ὀρᾷ ταῦτ' αἰεὶ χρόνος, ἐλεῖν μὲν ἕτερα
τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶρ αἰθις αὔξειν ἄνω.*

Sophocles is fond of prolative infinitives of this sort, e.g. *Ant.* 64, *ἐλεῖν* is common in the sense of overthrowing, and as for the change from aorist to present it is easy to fill a page with instances; take one passage for all, *Ant.* 202, where in three lines *πάσασθαι* goes along with *ἄγειν* and *κετερίζειν* with *κωκῦσαι*. Here the aorist *ἐλεῖν* might be held to be appropriate as representing a single act, the present *αὔξειν* as denoting continued growth. The infinitives seem to me better than participles; 'Time sees these things, exalting one and abasing another,' is a much weaker thing to say than: 'Time keeps his eye on these things so as to exalt, etc.' In the former sentence I miss a connexion between *ὀρᾷ* and *αὔξων*, but the idea of some supernatural power watching the ways of men, waiting for his time to spring upon them, is a very common one.

So far I have assumed *ὀρᾷ ταῦτα* as the reading, but we have seen that there was once another, *ὀρᾷται τε*. And I vainly try to persuade myself that *ταῦτα* is satisfactory; it means the *ἀξιώματα δαιμόνων*, say the editors, but if so *ἕτερα* and *τὰ δέ* would naturally refer to them too, but cannot, and this causes a slight awkwardness. Considering the indication of an ancient corruption afforded by the scholia, and comparing *Ajax* 646, I suspect that Dindorf was right in reading *ὀρᾷ πάντ' αἰεὶ*.

Having arrived at this point, I turn back to the beginning of the second scholion, *οἶον πάντα ἔχει ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ὁ χρόνος*. I seem to see in this a confirmation of these conjectures. Hitherto I assume the words to go with what follows them, but they do not go very well; what if they are really independent? If so, they seem to point to a reading *ὀρᾷ ὀρᾷ πάντ' αἰεὶ χρόνος ἔχει*, of which the unhappy commentator made the best he could. Now from *ἔχει* to *ἐλεῖν* is but a step; it is notorious how often *χ* and *λ* are confused.

The corresponding line is *τί μὲν ἀφήσει τέλος; δέδια δ' οὐ γὰρ ἄλιον*. That the first words of this are corrupt is evident. To explain *ἀφήσει* by comparing *ἀφιέναι φωνήν* is irrelevant, to explain it by saying that *ἀφιέναι* is used of hens laying eggs is grotesque. *μὲν* also looks very suspicious. But I cannot pretend to guess what Sophocles wrote; none of the conjectures proposed is satisfactory. I will say however that I think *μοι* for *μὲν* very probable, and that it might be altered to *μὲν* on the supposition that *ὀρᾷ ὀρᾷ* was a di-iambus.

¹ It is true that *ὀρῶ ὀρῶ* at *Persae* 1021 is a di-iambus, but *ῥα, ῥα μάλ' αὖ* at *Eum.* 254 is clearly a dochmiac.

1466. ἔπτηξα θυμόν· οὐρανία γὰρ ἀστραπή φλέγει πάλιν.

The scansion of οὐρανία should be — — — as appears from the correspondent verse, and it is generally recognized that this is impossible. I should be inclined to acquiesce in Bothe's οὐρανοῦ if it were not for the scholiast, who writes: οὐρανία. ἀντὶ τοῦ ταχεῖα. It has seemed evident to many scholars that ταχεῖα is an explanation of some totally different word; now there is a word of the required scansion which is regularly glossed in this manner. Schol. *Trach.* 94: αἰόλα νύξ. μέλαινα,¹ ὥς οἱ νεώτεροι, ἢ ποικίλη διὰ τὰ ἄστρα ἢ νύξ ἢ ταχεῖα διὰ τὸ νυκτὶ θοῇ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ. Suidas: αἰόλος. εὐκίνητος, ποικίλος, ἢ ταχύς. παρὰ τὴν ἄελλαν, ἣτις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄειν καὶ εἰλεῖν. Hesychius: αἰόλα· ποικίλα, ταχέα, and αἰολίδας· ποικίλους, ταχεῖς, and αἰολοπώλους· ταχυπώλους.

Porphry, *Quaest. Hom.* 3, maintains that αἰόλος originally meant ταχύς. Eustathius so explains it at least three times, a scholiast on *Hymn. Ven.* 138 says: αἰολοπώλους. πολεμικοὺς ἢ ταχεῖς πώλους ἔχοντας. It would be easy to add to this list, but the evidence is already sufficient.

That αἰόλα could be used as an epithet for ἀστραπή appears from Pindar's αἰολοβρόντης, and to my feeling it makes a far finer line than οὐρανία. When we consider the number of interpretations given to the word by the ancients, it does not seem impossible that someone should have written down οὐρανία as a note upon it. Perhaps the scholion may have originally run thus: αἰόλα· οὐρανία ἢ ταχεῖα. Whatever has happened I feel pretty sure that this is the right restoration.

Wecklein's ἀργία depends on a solitary reference in Hesychius, which is possibly a mere mistake, and strikes me as poetically inferior.

Whether we should write αἰόλη ἀστραπή or αἰόλα ἀστραπά may be doubted: I cannot see any reason for the Ionic forms in this line myself. ἀστραπά Blaydes.

1579.

ξυντομωτάτως μὲν ἂν
τύχοιμι λέξας Οἰδίπουν ὀλωλότα.

The superlative adverb in -ως should not hastily be altered. It is said that metre does not require it; true, but metre does not require those two first persons dual which are rightly retained by editors at *Phil.* 1079, *El.* 950. Such experiments in language are just such as Sophocles affects; why accept the one and reject the other? Moreover it is admitted that δυστηνοτάτως should be read at *Eur. Supp.* 967; and ὑπερτάτως is restored at *Aesch. Supp.* 680 by Ahrens from the scholiast.

But indeed I do not think that either can correctly be called an experiment on the part of Sophocles. For the duals he conceived that he had warrant in Homer, for the superlative he has ample warrant in Ionic. Weir Smyth in his *Ionic Dialect* § 556 gives no less than three such superlatives from Hippocrates,

¹ Perhaps this extraordinary explanation arose from *Aesch. Sept.* 481, λιγνὸν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην

πυρὸς κάσιν. Here however the scholiast says as usual αἰόλην δὲ τὴν εὐκίνητον καὶ ταχεῖαν.

and I can add a fourth, *περὶ μέσον ἡμέρης ἔθανεν ὀξυτάως*. (Vol. i., p. 499, Kühn.)

I believe then that the assimilation of the comparative and superlative endings to the positive ending began probably in Ionic and was thence imported into Attic, though of course it may have arisen independently. For the comparative in *-ως* also is already to be found in Herodotus, and possibly the following citation from Thucydides ii. 50 bears out this theory, *τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου χαλεπωτέρως προσέπιπτεν ἐκάστω*. There he is writing medically and Ionically; just as throughout his description of the plague he prefers *θνήσκειν* to *ἀποθνήσκειν*, so here he prefers *χαλεπωτέρως* to *χαλεπώτερον*. But as a rule he uses the comparative in *-ον*; there are hardly half a dozen instances of the other in him.

VII.

On *Electra* I have nothing to say, but should like to turn back to a passage of *Oedipus Tyrannus*, which I withheld before, partly because I did not feel very sure about it. But the oftener I look at it the surer I become that there is something in it; at any rate I will risk it. It is that ancient battleground, 44,

*ὥς τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι καὶ τὰς ξυμφορὰς
ζώσας ὁρῶ μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων.*

That *ξυμφορὰς βουλευμάτων* must here mean 'comparison of counsels' has appeared pretty clear to Young, Shilleto, Kennedy, Verrall, and (I am permitted to add) Housman. To this view Jebb raises two objections. First that the priest could not give his sovereign so plain a hint to consult others, but this is answered at once by looking at 43. Secondly, a more serious point:

'When the first verse was spoken, would any hearer in the theatre doubt that *ξυμφορὰς* meant "issues," or divine that it was going to bear the unexampled sense of "comparisons"? And the indispensable clue, *τῶν βουλευμάτων*, is postponed to the end of the next line. In the circumstance, it is hard to imagine any good writer arranging his words thus; it is, to me, altogether inconceivable that a skilled writer for the stage should so arrange them.'

Before answering this, it is necessary to raise another point, the meaning of *ζώσας*. This word can only mean *living*, nothing more and nothing less. It cannot mean *operative*; nowhere is there any justification to be found for this translation. When Antigone says that the eternal laws *live* for ever, it is only a poetical way of saying that they exist; of course they do also operate, but she does not *say* so; that is only a matter of inference from the context. To translate *ζώσας* here by *operative* is mere juggling with words.

Assuming then that *ξυμφορὰς* means comparisons, I ask myself these two questions: why did Sophocles keep back *τῶν βουλευμάτων* to the end of the couplet, and why did he call the *ξυμφορὰς* *living*?

Imagine yourself to be listening in the theatre to the play for the first time,

and consider what you would have felt to be the meaning as these words reached your ears. *ὥς τοῖσιν ἐμπείρουσιν*, 'for to men of experience,' *καὶ τὰς ξυμφοράς*, 'also their calamities,' *ζώσας ὁρῶ*, 'I see to be living.' Look next at 928, *γυνὴ δὲ μήτηρ ἦδε τῶν κείνου τέκνων*, a line which, coming as it does when expectation is on tip-toe, must have almost made the audience scream. A good writer would hardly have put these words in that order if it had not been for the double meaning in them. So in 44 the audience were intended to feel the meaning to be 'the calamities of Oedipus are living,' and so they were; in a literal sense his wife and children, or in a metaphorical sense the consequences of his past deeds. The word *ἐμπειρος* seems to suggest to Sophocles experience of ill; at any rate it has that sense in *O. C.* 1135, though not in *O. C.* 752.

We can see now, if this is so, why the 'indispensable clue' is kept back to the end of the second line. It was just because Sophocles was 'a skilled writer for the stage,' and because he delighted in such ominous suggestions dropping innocently from the lips of well-meaning people; at any rate in this play he revels in such effects, and the Athenians liked them. At the same time I cannot but suspect that he overshot the mark on this occasion. The audience were meant first to thrill at the words, and then to acquiesce in them when they saw that after all the couplet as a whole only meant that comparison of counsels was useful even for men of experience. But did they see all this? And might they not with justice have complained that the poet was forcing language beyond all reasonable bounds? In order to get the evil sense Sophocles has said *ζώσας* when he really only meant *χρηστάς*, and has used *ξυμφοράς* in a most perplexing manner. But I am not much concerned with the question what the audience may have thought; there is no need for a miscellaneous body like that to appreciate delicate points; they judge grossly and in the lump. Certainly Shakespeare's audience never understood hundreds of passages in his plays in any exact and correct way. And we know that the Athenians often could not understand Aeschylus.

Already in this play there has been a double meaning attached to *συμφοραῖς*, for in 33 Oedipus is described as *πρώτον ἐν συμφοραῖς βίου*. Another passage where the language is forced for the same purpose is the following (260):

*ἔχων δὲ λέκτρα καὶ γυναῖχ' ὁμόσπορον,
κοινῶν τε παίδων κοῖν' ἄν, εἰ κείνῳ γένος
μὴ 'δυστύχησεν, ἦν ἂν ἐκπεφυκότα,
νῦν δ' ἐς τὸ κείνου κρᾶτ' ἐνήλαθ' ἡ τύχη.*

What Oedipus means is: 'I am wedded to the wife of Laius, and if offspring had not failed him his children would have been half-brothers to mine, but as it is'—and then he ought to have gone on—'he had no children.' What Sophocles expects his audience to understand is also a suggestion of dreadful things in *ὁμόσπορον* and *κοινῶν κοινά*, and again: 'if his son had not been accursed above all men, but as it is Fortune (of whom Oedipus accounts

himself the son in 1082) has leapt upon *that son's* head.' To get this effect, Sophocles deliberately substitutes the last line for what Oedipus ought to have said.

I should like to comment by the way on some other bits of irony which I have not seen explained; perhaps they are thought to be obvious, but I know they escaped me for many years. At 397 *ὁ μηδὲν εἰδὼς Οἰδίπους* refers to the blindness of Oedipus who knew not what he did when he slew Laius and wedded Iocasta. At 987 *καὶ μὴν μέγας γ' ὀφθαλμὸς οἱ πατρὸς τάφοι* applies to Polybus in the mind of Iocasta, but what a sarcasm it also contains unknown to her: 'if your mother is alive at any rate it is a comfort that you have killed your father!' And what terrible irony in the answer of Oedipus, *μέγας, ξυνίημι*. Line 999, *τὰ τῶν τεκόντων ὄμμαθ' ἥδιστον βλέπειν*, may be best illustrated by comparing what Oedipus himself says at 1371. Campbell has rightly drawn attention to the point of 743, where Iocasta remarks on the similarity of Oedipus to Laius, and that line seems to me one of the most dreadful touches in all the play.

There is also a small point of some interest here. We learn from 1173 that Iocasta herself delivered the babe to the shepherd to be made away with. But at 718 Iocasta tells Oedipus that it was Laius who 'cast him away by the hand of others on the lonely hills.' Did she shrink from owning the truth? From the anguish of that bereavement she had never recovered; it had made her hard and impious and reckless; it had ruined her life. So she cannot even after all these years bring herself to speak the truth about what she had done in that hour of panic, done as she thinks all in vain. Or shall we say that 'by the hands of others' really means 'by *my* hands'? I think not; the reference must be to the shepherd. Still less can I believe that Sophocles did not deliberately make the distinction between the two passages.

Schol. *Aj.* 1402 γοῦν for οἶν? *O. T.* 477 ταῦρον τὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ζητούμενον καλῶν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ὕλῃ κεκρυμμένον. *O. T.* 863 ad fin. qu. τὴν περὶ τούτων ψέγοντες ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τῶν μαντειῶν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὑγίης ἐστίν, i.e. 'they speak blaming the too precise criticism of these things and of the oracles, to the effect that there is no truth in them.' *Tr.* 1055 νεαρὸν for νεκρόν. *Ph.* 1316 τυγχάνειν εἰσιν for τυγχάνουσιν. *O. C.* 539 ἐλεῖν for ἰδεῖν (λαβεῖν Triclinius).

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE DIVIDED LINE OF *PLATO REP. VI.*

AT the end of the Sixth Book of the *Republic* Plato explains the Idea of Good by means of the Figure of the Sun. As the sun is the cause both of the becoming of that which is subject to becoming and of our apprehension of it and of its changes through the eye, so the idea of good is the cause of the being of that which is and also of our knowledge of it. As the sun is beyond γένεσις, so the Idea of Good is beyond Being. Glaucon says he does not understand. The simile is further elucidated by means of a line, divided into two parts, of which one stands for the νοητὸν γένος τε καὶ τόπος, where the Idea of Good bears rule, the other for the ὁρατὸν γένος τε καὶ τόπος, over which the sun is lord. The line is to be divided unequally (the inequality representing the unequal clearness of the objects each division stands for), and subdivided in the same proportions. Thus we get a line consisting of four parts in the ratio (say) 4 : 6 :: 6 : 9. Let us call the four parts A B C D respectively, A being the smallest, D the greatest, B and C necessarily equal. A (as Plato explains) stands for εἰκόνες, shadows, images in water and on polished surfaces, and the like: B stands for animals, plants, and the creations of human industry: C for the objects of that enquiry in which the objects denoted by B are treated as images, i.e. mathematical enquiries: D for the objects apprehended by dialectic, the Ideas themselves. The first equation asserted (510a 8) is—The objects of opinion : objects of knowledge :: representation : original (AB : CD :: A : B). There follows an explanation of the inferiority of mathematical to philosophical reasoning, and an explanation of the statement that the objects denoted by B are used as images or symbols by the enquiry concerned with C; as a result of which Glaucon perceives that the general distinction between C and D is that between the τέχναι (as they were called), i.e. those sciences in which the Guardians (as explained in the following book) were to be educated, and Philosophy or Dialectic. Finally a special πάθημα or affection of the soul is allotted to each of the four divisions of the line, to A εἰκασία, to B πίστις, to C διάνοια, to D νόησις, each πάθημα being clear in the same degree in which the objects it is concerned with are true.



The only other direct reference to the Line in the *Republic* is in a later passage (534a), which purports to be a reaffirmation of the previous division, but reaffirms it with slightly altered terminology. D is called ἐπιστήμη instead

of *νόησις*, but the other three divisions stand as they were. A and B collectively are again referred to as *δόξα*; but *νόησις* becomes a general name covering C and D. The following equations are asserted—(1) Being : becoming :: intelligence : opinion (objects CD : objects AB :: affection CD : affection AB). (2) Intelligence : opinion :: science (*ἐπιστήμη*) : belief (*πίστις*) :: *διάνοια* : *εἰκασία* (affections CD : AB :: D : B :: C : A). Socrates says he will neglect for the moment the equations which hold with regard to the objects apprehended in these various mental activities.

The first point to which I wish to call attention is that the Line is introduced as an explanation of the simile in which the Idea of Good is likened to that which is said to be its child or *ἔκγονος*, the Sun. The simile is an assertion of an identity of relation between two pairs of things, the Sun and the sensible, the Good and the intelligible; and if it were nothing more than a simile it would not in any way explain what relation (if any) holds between the two pairs of things compared. $\alpha : \beta$, it asserts, as $\gamma : \delta$, but of the relation of α to γ or β to δ it tells us nothing. That the preceding simile is more than a mere simile is suggested by calling the Sun the *ἔκγονος* of the Good. This hint is further developed in the Line, but for the relation parent-child is substituted the relation image-original. And this relation is not slipped in in parenthesis like the word *ἔκγονος*, but becomes the centre of the exposition. In the preceding passage we have a simile modified by the implication that the one set of terms is dependent upon the other. The Line explains the dependence of the one series on the other by means of a simile. Allowing for this change of emphasis, the first equation, the only equation, indeed, explicitly set out by Plato in his initial statement, is simply the simile of the Sun in equational form. He had said 'the place of the Idea of the Good in the universe is analogous to that of the Sun in the visible world.' He now (510a 5) gives us the statement which the Line was primarily constructed to convey as follows: 'The object of thought is to the object of sight as an image is to its original.' Further, Plato, as if anxious to insist upon the close connexion of what he is now saying with the simile of the Sun, carefully selects from among the various things to which the rather vague term *εἰκόν* can be applied those which are directly due to the action of the Sun's light, viz. shadows and reflections on polished surfaces. The new point introduced by this statement is the relation of image to original, substituted, as I have said, for the relation of parent and child. By this relation Plato now proposes to elucidate the relation of the world of Being to the world of Becoming. In many respects the relation is particularly apt for the purpose.

(1) In the first place, the ordinary man would think twice before he would admit an image to be quite real—at any rate to be real in the same sense as its original.¹ A reflection of a building in water, for example, is not a self-existing

¹ For the unreality of images, cf. Hobbes, *Computation*, p. 17, 'A man, a tree, a stone, are the names of the things themselves. . . . The images of these things, which are represented to

men sleeping, have their names also, though they be not things, but only fictions and phantasms of things.'

thing like a house: it derives what transient being it has from that of which it is a feeble imitation, and may vanish any moment without making much difference to anybody. (2) Secondly, its being is derivative and derived from something to which its existence makes no difference. The reflection is in one place and its reality is in another; the reflection comes and goes, but the original remains; if, on the other hand, the reflected object is destroyed the reflection is destroyed with it. (3) Again, an indefinite number of *εἰκόνες* are possible of one and the same original; but the original which gives what life they have to these images is not thereby divided or diluted or modified in any respect whatever. In short, Plato chooses this as a good instance of a relation of one-sided dependence.¹ The equation then is an explanation of the relation of the sensible and supersensible worlds by means of a simile. The thing of sense, it is implied, is like an image. There is something, more real than it, from which what reality it has proceeds, and on the existence of which it depends: and it and its fellows may come into being, multiply their kind, and pass again into nothingness, without in any way affecting or modifying the eternal reality.

If I am right in supposing that this elucidation of the relation of the sensible to the supersensible is the *immediate* object (at any rate) of the simile of the Line, it seems to me to follow that many of the difficulties raised by modern editors are wide of the mark. They are puzzled, for example, by the fact that, while Plato more than once uses *δόξα* (or *δοξαστόν*) to describe the sensible sphere, he mentions as the objects with which it deals only *εἰκόνες σκίαί ζῷα φυτευτά σκευαστά*. Adam seems to think that only the obviousness of the inference prevented Plato from explaining that in *δόξα* was included *τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλοῦ τε περὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων*. Having made this unwarranted addition he then proceeds to make the elements thus inserted the centre of his exposition of Plato's meaning. Such an addition would in my view only obscure the point of the equation. We are dealing with the relation of the objects accessible to sight to the objects accessible to the intelligence: the opinions of the many about justice are neither the one nor the other, but imperfect judgments passed upon facts of experience.

Other critics find the lowest division of the Line practically devoid of meaning—added, as they say, for the sake of symmetry. How they can take such a view in face of the equation set out in the passage just considered I cannot understand; and the very fact that they arrived at such a conclusion ought to have led them to reconsider their position.

A general point following from what I have just said is this. The line is not primarily a classification or comparison of kinds of intelligence, but of kinds of things accessible to the intelligence. It is the relation between the thought-thing and the seen-thing that the Line is intended to explain. Accordingly, in Plato's exposition 'mental processes' are not referred to until it

¹ Cf. *Symp.* 211b. The relation of Beauty to the many beautiful things is such that *γεννομένων τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπολλυμένων μηδὲν ἐκεῖνο μήτε τι πλεον μήτε ἔλαττον γίγνεσθαι μηδὲ πάσχειν μηδέν.*

becomes necessary to justify the distinction between lower and higher *νοητά*: and for that purpose the distinction of method was obviously of primary importance. The four *παθήματα* of the Soul are mentioned last, and are logically an afterthought, though necessary for the completeness of the exposition. Here again commentators tend to reverse Plato's order—to regard the Line as primarily a distinction of four kinds or 'stages' (as Nettleship says) of intelligence, implying in quite a secondary way a difference in the objects upon which the intelligence is directed. I can remember that my own view of the Line when I first read the *Republic* was much prejudiced by this reversal of the emphasis. I found Nettleship's statement of the progressive growth of intelligence interesting and satisfactory, but the invention of objects corresponding to these four stages seemed to me a curious piece of artificiality on Plato's part, to be explained by an odd assumption prevalent among the Greeks that differences of apprehensions must be due to differences of the apprehended. I now frequently have to listen to this criticism in the essays of other people. Nettleship's view errs (though it may be mainly a question of emphasis) in two respects—(1) in putting the comparisons of apprehensions first, thus causing the other side of the assertion to seem artificial or otiose; (2) in treating the Line as essentially a progression from darkness to light, a construction which the proportions of Plato's division forbid. What I am here protesting against is the first of these mistakes. I think it is clear that the distinctions among *ὄντα* are prior to the distinctions of apprehension, and that the latter are to be interpreted by the aid of the former, not the former by the aid of the latter. To the reversal of this order is chiefly due (among other misapprehensions) the failure to perceive the importance of the lowest segment of the Line.

I now pass to the second of my objections against Nettleship's account. The Line is not a progression. It does not ask us to conceive of any series as a continuous development. There is a break in the middle, since B and C are demonstrably equal, which to those who talk of stages of intelligence is not merely devoid of significance but definitely hostile to the intended interpretation of the parable. In the Line, it is true, three pairs of terms are compared in respect of their clearness or truth; but these three pairs are not A and B, B and C, C and D (as in a progression), but A and B, C and D, AB and CD. (There are further comparisons which may be for the moment ignored.) You may say then, if you like, that B is an advance upon A and D upon C; but you must not say that C is a similar advance upon B, though you may say that CD as a whole is an advance upon AB. This point is not as unimportant as it sounds. Let me discard symbols. You may say that the *εἰκαστόν* is a clearer form of the same thing than the *εἰκόν*, that philosophy reveals the same thing in a clearer form than mathematics, or that reflection generally exhibits the same world in a clearer form than sight in general; but you are not entitled to say that mathematics is *πίστις* clarified, or that the *μαθηματικόν* is the same thing as the *ζῆλον* in a clearer form. The reason of this is that the

four divisions are not really co-ordinate. The lower subsections of the two worlds are both tentative, provisional, transitional; the higher subsections are both final. B ($\xi\phi a$, etc.) stands for the complete sensible existences whose mutilated representations are included under A, just as D stands for the full reality half concealed and half revealed in the mathematical enquiries of C. If B were not complete in itself and the goal of the half truths and semi-existences of A, it would not be truly analogous to D. This fact accounts for the break between the two middle subsections. Nevertheless it is true that Thought is but Sense clarified; and therefore AB considered as unitary is continuous and compared in point of adequacy with CD considered as a whole. But, it should be added, since B is simply a clearer form of A and D of C, it follows that the relation AB:CD is practically a disguised form of the relation B:D.

In my view, then, the equality of B and C, though devoid of positive significance, is in no way hostile to the correct interpretation of the parable, since it is not intended to compare B and C directly at all. But those who persist in the misleading phraseology of 'four stages of Intelligence' must suppose that Plato was not aware of the equality of B and C, thus accusing him of a simple mathematical blunder. Of course he was aware of it; and of course he was aware that a scheme of this kind was not a progression. The resources of his mathematics were quite equal to representing schematically the conception of 'stages.' For that an ordinary geometrical progression would have sufficed. If he did not use that device the only credible reason is that he did not want to use it. A progression, in short, was not what he intended to convey.

We can now proceed to consider the four $\pi\alpha\theta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ of the Soul which are allotted to these four classes of object. These four $\pi\alpha\theta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ are said to differ in clearness according as their objects differ in truth. Thus $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is not so clear as $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ and $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ is not so clear as $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$. But what does this mean? It could hardly be said that because an image is inadequate its apprehension is inadequate, or that because mathematical truth is incomplete therefore its apprehension is blurred or obscure. The obscurity of the obscure may itself be clearly or obscurely apprehended, and the clearest demonstration may only confusedly convince. Mathematical knowledge may be somehow inadequate and yet be in itself the perfection of lucidity. I doubt, then, whether $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ will differ from $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ as the simile requires that it should, if it is taken to stand merely for the apprehension of an $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$, without knowledge that the $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ stands for anything other than itself. Still less if it is taken to stand for the more positively erroneous attitude which confuses shadows with things. Further, the word itself would be inappropriate for such a use. An attitude of that kind would be content with itself, untroubled by doubt as to its own authenticity: but the word suggests doubt, conjecture, implies a question asked but only half answered.¹ Suppose, on the other hand, a mind faced

¹ Adam, vol. ii., p. 72: ' $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in this sense is a new coinage of Plato's. The translation 'conjecture' is misleading, for conjecture implies conscious doubt or hesitation, and doubt is foreign to $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in Plato's sense.'

with an image, defective as all images are, fleeting and shifting as shadows and reflections are wont to be—with an image which he knows to be an image, but of which he does not know the original. He will be trying continually, on the ground of the imperfect evidence before him, to frame a reliable mental picture of that original. He will be in a state which is fairly called one of conjecture. When at last he succeeds in actually seeing with his eyes the things over whose image he puzzled, then conjecture gives place to assurance, doubt to certainty, *εἰκασία* to *πίστις*. He wanted to know what the thing really looked like, and now he knows. His question is answered, and he is at the end of his enquiry. Thus in the sphere of the *ὄρατόν*, in which we are only concerned with that which is accessible to the eye, the question asked in *εἰκασία* is finally answered in *πίστις*; the doubts suggested by the *εἰκόν* are finally solved by the sight of the *ζῶον*. The eye can tell us what a thing looks like, if that is all we want to know.

Similarly, in the higher sphere, the motive which inspires mathematical enquiry must be the desire to know the truth about Being, if such enquiries are to be felt by the enquirer as in any way obscure or defective. If that and nothing less is the motive of the enquirer, he will not be able to remain within the limits of these enquiries: when he has pursued them to their end, he will know that his question is not yet answered, that there is more to learn. Thus mathematics becomes, what Plato in his theory of education requires it to be, the stimulus to philosophy. To treat mathematics as an enquiry complete in itself is as absurd as to insist on studying the nature and habits of animals by the evidence of shadows and reflections when you have only to turn your head to see the animals themselves.

To this view it may be objected that, in the case of *εἰκασία* at any rate, the mental attitude which it describes is a purely imaginary one. There is no one, it may be said, who from shadows and reflections tries to conjecture what the nature may be of the things shadowed or reflected. We may reply, however, that there is no one who takes shadows and reflections for reality. It is true that there is a sort of plausibility in the view which makes these shadows and reflections a metaphorical description of current erroneous opinion passing with the uninstructed as final truth. This view, however, as we have already seen, is not directly suggested in the text of the *Republic*: and, since it gives more weight to a supposed implication of Plato's words than to their direct meaning, it should not be accepted without further support. Such further support is looked for in other passages in the Platonic writings. I now propose to examine these passages to see what light, if any, they throw upon the problems of the Line.

(a) Adam appeals in the first place to the passage in the Fifth Book of the *Republic* in which the province of *δόξα* is distinguished from that of *ἐπιστήμη*. Here, as he says, it is stated that *δοξαστά* include *τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νομιμὰ καλοῦ τε περὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων*; and since the contents of the two lower sections are called *δοξαστά* as well as *ὀρατά*, he infers that the distinction

intended cannot be merely a distinction of *ὁρατά*, but must contain *inter alia* a distinction among 'popular canons or opinions on the subject of what is beautiful, ugly, right, wrong, etc.'¹ Now, in a general contrast between *δόξα* and *ἐπιστήμη* these facts are of course in place. In this context, however, if my account is correct, they can only come in by a sort of extension of the original scope of the image. Still, one could not object to such an extension if anything were gained by it. What then is gained? The discrimination of two kinds of *δόξαι* required for the exposition of the theory becomes extraordinarily difficult, especially when it is admitted, as Adam admits, that *πίστις* may be right or wrong. That admission rules out the distinction between opinions as true and false; and leaves a difference which, as Adam frankly says, is 'a varying quantity,' between the reflections of the eternal justice, etc., exhibited in mind of greater and less distorting power. Was it worth while introducing these *δόξαι* to obtain this result? Plato's first equation explains that he proposes to elucidate the relation of sensible and supersensible by means of the relation between the two lower sections of the Line. Is that difference then also 'a varying quantity,' and may knowledge itself be right or wrong? Surely *πίστις*, if it is to be truly analogous to *ἐπιστήμη*, must be something final and impeccable in its own sphere. It must settle the problems raised by *εἰκασία*, as metaphysics answer the questions provoked by mathematics, and knowledge in general settles the perplexities of sensation.

(b) Adam further refers to the passage in the *Sophist* where Plato tries by the method of *διαίρεσις* to arrive at a definition of the art of sophistry. The reference has an apparent appositeness, since the Sophist is placed in the subdivision of *φανταστική* which Plato calls *εἰκαστική*; and the word *δοξομίμησις* which is used to describe the activity of the Sophist seems at first sight to provide a differentia of *εἰκασία* from *πίστις*, and one particularly appropriate since it introduces in the word *μίμησις* the copy-original relation. But it must be remarked that the parallel is at any rate very inexact. As Adam admits, the *σκίαι* and *εἰδῶλα* mentioned in the exposition of the Line would fall in the region of *θεία εἰδωλοποιική* rather than in that of *ἀνθρωπινή εἰδωλοποιική*,² while the activity of the Sophist falls within the latter division. Again, in the *Sophist* we are concerned with a classification of kinds of creation; and such a classification has no very direct relation to a simile the aim of which is to expound the relation of the world of sense to the world of knowledge. *Εἰκαστική* there is the art of *making* *εἰκόνες*. The inference which Adam draws from this passage is that Plato's enemies—the Sophist and the Artist—will be found in the lowest division of the Line, in the psychological condition of *εἰκασία*. But *εἰκασία* is taken by Adam and others to mean 'the

¹ It is not necessary to quote passages to prove that opinions about right and wrong are opinions: what is necessary is to show that such opinions have any relevance to the present discussion. It may also be pointed out that, while no apology is needed for calling the objects of

sense, the *ὁρατά*, *δοξαστά*, it is not easy to see why Plato should have called *δοξαστά* in this general sense *ὁρατά*.

² Cf. Proclus, *In Plat. Remp.* I. 290, 7 (ed. Kroll).

state of mind in which εἰκόνες are held to be true,' i.e. to be not copies but originals. It is however quite impossible to suppose that a man who is actually engaged in imitating something should be convinced that the imitation which he is making is that of which it is the imitation. And even supposing that such an internally contradictory state of mind were possible, the commentator has to make his description of εἰκασία square with that of διάνοια: and what analogy can possibly hold between this preposterous confusion and the state of mind of the mathematician, who is not occupied in imitating anything, and is not accused of mistaking any εἰκόν, or anything analogous to an εἰκόν, for an original? Nor is the use of the word εἰκαστική in the *Sophist* any evidence in favour of this view. It means, certainly, the art of making εἰκόνες; but it does not follow that εἰκασία means the state of mind of one employed in making εἰκόνες.

(c) Finally, there is the passage in the *Philebus* in which Plato, after distinguishing pure and impure pleasures, sets out to establish a similar distinction between pure and impure knowledge. He first divides knowledge into two parts, practical or productive and theoretical or educational. In the practical applications of knowledge he finds a pure element, which is applied mathematics, and an impure element—the skill in guessing which comes with practice: the former is certain and accurate, the latter unreliable and inaccurate; and arts which rely chiefly on the latter are inferior to those which proceed chiefly by measuring, weighing, and other mathematical devices. Thus music, as an inexact art, is contrasted with the exact art of carpentry. It is then shown that the mathematics involved in these relatively exact arts is after all applied mathematics, with unequal units, etc., and that there is a purer form of mathematics, which is more truly scientific. Finally Dialectic, as the contemplation of Being, is given the first place in the hierarchy of knowledge. Thus we get a fourfold classification, which is in some respects closely parallel to that of the *Republic*. Further, it is pointed out, that in *Rep. X.* the maker of a σκευός is said to have πίστις ὀρθή, since he acts on the advice of the man who knows—i.e. of the user—while the imitator neither knows nor has ὀρθή δόξα: 'so that,' says Adam, 'his state of mind can only be εἰκασία.' The passage in *Rep. X.*, though in itself quite intelligible, is not very easy to fit into the Line. The bed-maker has the highest form of πίστις, but the bed-user has something better still. Where is he to be placed? He cannot surely be regarded as falling under διάνοια, and if not there is no place for him. But even if that is dismissed the passage in the *Philebus* remains. The question we have to ask is, What light, if any, does it throw upon the Line? It purports to be a classification of knowledge with respect to its degree of σαφήνεια, just as the proportions of the Line are said to be determined by the relative σαφήνεια of the various objects for which it stands. The two higher divisions, in the *Philebus* as in the *Republic*, are dialectic and mathematics, and the lower element in the lower half is described there as here by the word εἰκάζειν. But, in spite of these similarities, there is sufficient

difference between the two passages to make any inference from the one to the other unconvincing. The classification of the *Philebus* is provoked by Socrates' claim that wisdom and not pleasure is the highest good; while the simile of the Line is an attempt to clear up the relation of the world of sense to the world of knowledge. This difference of purpose is sufficient to account for a difference of treatment, even though the same facts are in a sense the basis of both analyses, and each is in some degree a help to the understanding of the other. But the fact that at first sight the passage in the *Philebus* appears to supplement the exposition of the *Republic* just where it is least detailed—i.e. (if the expression is permitted) on the subjective side—filling out the meagre account of the *παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς* by an analysis of kinds of knowing—this fact should not force us into the uncritical device of simply putting the two passages together on the assumption that they must and in the faith that they will harmonize.

The argument of the *Philebus* distinguishes four kinds of wisdom, dividing applied knowledge or art, inexact and exact, from pure knowledge or science, mathematical and metaphysical. The second of these distinctions—the distinction within pure knowledge of mathematics from metaphysics—is in the *Philebus* far from clear. It is asserted that there is a form of knowing superior to pure mathematics, which is called ἡ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δύναμις and deals with τὸ ὄν (57e—58e). The superiority of this study to the study of the changing things of Nature is expounded (59 a—b). But so little attempt is made to differentiate it from pure mathematics, that the ground of its superiority is not stated, and in the recapitulation which precedes the 'mixing' the divine circle and sphere are apparently within the cognition of the purest form of knowledge, i.e. either of διαλεκτική, or of διαλεκτική and mathematics taken as together constituting pure knowledge. In short, this part of the division is so far from throwing any light on the parallel division of νοητά in the *Republic*, that without the *Republic* it is itself almost unintelligible.

Turning to the arts, to what Plato here calls δημιουργικὴ ἐπιστήμη (55d), we find the lower element distinguished from the higher according to the presence or absence of precise mathematical determination, and a resulting separation of relatively exact crafts like carpentry from those which are relatively inexact, like music. This does not in itself suggest a very close connexion with the Divided Line of *Rep. VI.* But the answer to the question 'What is Art apart from Mathematics?' is, not unnaturally, 'guesswork guided by the skill which comes from practice': τὸ γοῦν μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰκάζειν λείποντ' ἂν καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καταμελετᾶν ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τινὶ τριβῇ (55e): and in the recapitulation the arts not clarified by mathematics were found, it is said, to be full of guesswork and imitation, στοχάσεως τε καὶ μιμήσεως μεστή. These words στόχασις, εἰκάζειν, μίμησις, give the commentators the cue, and when further it is remembered that in *Rep. X.* the carpenter who makes a bed is said to have πίστις ὀρθή, who can blame them if they cry Heureka? Yet surely it is obvious that the distinction arrived at in the *Philebus* between exact and

inexact arts has nothing to tell us about the relation of an image to its original, whether understood literally or metaphorically, and that it is only looseness of thought which allows it, together with everything else that Plato ever said or might have said about *δόξα*, to be bundled into the Line. Are we asked to believe that an inexact art is a copy of an exact, that it is a universal characteristic of the products or processes of medicine, husbandry, or generalship, to imitate the products or processes of some form of applied mathematics? And is there any sense in saying that the art of the pilot or the flute-player consists in the apprehension of an *εἰκὼν* or in mistaking an *εἰκὼν* for ultimate reality? But if it is nonsense to say these things, then it is also nonsense to say that the distinction involved is the same as that of *εἰκασία* and *πίστις* in the *Republic*.

Of the passage cited from the *Philebus*, then, I conclude that this classification of forms of knowledge, while apparently in its two higher divisions corresponding roughly to the higher sections of the Line, has in its lower divisions no direct relevance to the Line at all. The passage in the *Philebus* may truly be said (though omitting much, as Socrates says) to distinguish four levels or stages of intelligence; and it is not surprising therefore that those who regard the Divided Line as a progression have had to fly from the *Republic* to the *Philebus*. But the Line is not a progression, and does not set out to compare four degrees of wisdom.¹

I now return to the *παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς* and their interrelations within the Line itself.

One point I have already made. If the equation $A : B :: C : D$ is to mean anything, B (*πίστις*) must be final as D (*νοῦς*) is final. This point is important, and I think it is not sufficiently recognized by the commentators. But not only is it one of the most obvious features of the *ἀναλογία*; it is also one of the most obvious features of the parallelism, of which the whole of this part of the *Republic* is one long exposition, between the visible and the intelligible world. We have on the one side the sensible, with the visible Sun as lord and *μέγιστον ὄραμα*, and on the other side the intelligible, with the Good as lord and *μέγιστον μάθημα*. Before the exposition of the Divided Line the point is made in likening the idea of Good to the Sun, and in the following simile of the Cave the final ability of the eye to look upon the Sun in heaven is given as analogous to the final ability of the philosopher to see things as they are.

B and D, then, in their respective spheres, are each final and satisfactory. But their finality is brought out by contrast with the unfinality and unsatisfactoriness of A and C. The lower subsection in each section should be incomplete and unsatisfactory even within its own limits. A consideration of Plato's statements shows this to be the case. A reflection gives us incomplete

¹ With regard to these passages in general, I should say that there is no very clear thread of connexion running through them except a strong family likeness, due to the fact that each depends

to some extent like the Line on the notion of 'copying,' a notion of which Plato never seemed to exhaust the suggestiveness.

and unsatisfying evidence concerning the visible nature of the reflected object, and thus engenders in the mind cravings which only the sight of the object itself will set at rest. By analogy mathematics must give us a partial apprehension of the intelligible nature which is fully revealed by philosophy. It is able to draw the mind towards Being just because, as Plato says in the *Philebus* (57d), it is inspired by ἡ τῶν ὄντων φιλοσοφούντων ὁρμή—an impulse which will not be satisfied short of complete knowledge. So far there is a clear parallel between A and C.

The continuity of motive which has been observed between A and B depends upon this, that an εἰκὼν, when examined, is found to be devoid of significance except as the εἰκὼν of something, and the perception of animals and the other originals of the εἰκόνες satisfies the mind just because and in so far as the mind was trying to find in the image something which was not there; because, in short, the perception of an εἰκὼν is the imperfect perception of its original. That this continuity of motive, as I call it, holds also between mathematics and philosophy, Plato certainly means to imply: for the whole value of mathematics as a propaedeutic to philosophy depends upon it. But there would seem to be a difficulty if, as is commonly asserted, the mathematical triangle is something distinct from the εἶδος of triangle. Εἰκασία, the state of mind produced by the contemplation of an εἰκὼν, is, as we have seen, a partial perception of the sensuous characteristics of the originals of the εἰκόνες: it sees the ζῶον in the εἰκὼν. Mathematics then, by analogy, knows the εἶδος in that which is to it the εἰκὼν of the εἶδος. But what is the εἰκὼν of the mathematician? Plato explains that mathematical science treats the originals of the visible section as εἰκόνες, and thus with the aid of sense proceeds to analyze that which itself is not sensible. Though the mathematician has his eyes fixed upon a visible symbol, it is not that, he says, that he is discussing or trying to understand. But if it is a μαθηματικόν which is not an εἶδος that the mathematician tries to know with the aid of the diagram, surely the parallelism with the world of sense breaks down. The diagram corresponds to the reflection, but the μαθηματικόν cannot correspond to the ζῶον, since the μαθηματικόν is not what is known in the highest form of knowing, while the ζῶον is what is perceived in the highest form of perceiving. I do not wish to argue that Plato certainly did not believe in the order of μαθηματικά intermediate between the visible thing and the εἶδος: what I am trying to show is that it is rash to assume that such a doctrine is implied in the passage under discussion. What is here required, I urge, of the mathematician is not the adequate conception of a μαθηματικόν with the aid of a diagram, but the partial understanding of an εἶδος with the assistance of a visible symbol. And I venture to think that Plato's words admit most naturally of this interpretation. After explaining that the mathematician has his εἰκὼν Plato says (510b) that philosophy proceeds ἀνευ τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰκόνων αὐτοῖς εἶδεσι δι' αὐτῶν τὴν μέθοδον ποιουμένην. These words, αὐτοῖς εἶδεσι κ.τ.λ., certainly suggest an antithesis between the understanding of an εἶδος with sensuous

assistance and the understanding of the intelligible *αὐτὸ δι' αὐτοῦ*, by and through itself. He points out, it is true, that strictly speaking the mathematician does not really understand the fundamental notions involved in his own science, since he is unable to give an account of them; but that it is of them that philosophy, which knows nothing but forms, will give an account, is never doubted; and how should an enquiry *αὐτοῖς εἶδεσι δι' αὐτῶν τὴν μέθοδον ποιουμένη* consider that which is not *εἶδος* but *μαθηματικόν*? There are other expressions also in this passage which are difficult to explain on the hypothesis of *μαθηματικά*. How does *τὸ τετράγωνον αὐτό* or *αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα . . . ἃ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἴδοι ἢ τῇ διανοίᾳ* differ from the *αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν* or *αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο* of other passages, so that while the latter stand for *εἶδη* the former stand for *μαθηματικά*? Well, *εἶδη* here are grasped by νοεῖν, not διανοεῖν.

And, more generally, surely if Plato had here meant to expound the distinction of *μαθηματικά* from *εἶδη*, he would have explained the ground of that difference. We are told that the distinction rests on the fact that while the *μαθηματικά* are *πολλά*, the *εἶδος* is one. This doctrine is stated by Adam as follows: (p. 159)

'The lower *νοητά* are mathematical numbers, mathematical plane surfaces, mathematical *βάθος*, mathematical *φοραὶ βάθους*, and "consonant" mathematical numbers. . . . They are *ἀεὶ ὄντα* but nevertheless *πολλά*, i.e. there are many mathematical units, etc. (526a, note), many mathematical triangles, squares, etc., many mathematical cubes, etc., many specimens (if the word may be allowed) of each mathematical *φορά*, many of each set of *ξύμφωνοι ἀριθμοί*' (*Rep.* II. p. 159).

He points out, further, that the ground on which Aristotle supposes Plato to have made the distinction is the plurality of mathematical units, etc., and that this plurality is implied in a passage in *Rep.* VII. (526a), supported by a passage in the *Philebus* (56c ff.). In both of these passages the plurality of units is implied (though not in contradistinction to the unity of an *εἶδος*) when the units of pure mathematics are distinguished from those of applied mathematics as units perfectly equal to one another from units roughly approximate. No passage, as far as I know, is quoted from the surviving works of Plato explicitly distinguishing *μαθηματικά* from *εἶδη*; and no statement is quoted from the exposition of the Line containing even the implicit assertion of the plurality of *μαθηματικά*. Indeed Adam admits that 'a hasty perusal' of the statement, already quoted, about the *τετράγωνον αὐτό* (510d) 'might lead us to suppose that there is only one mathematical square, and even to identify it with the Idea.'

Now, it is of course obvious that the geometrician is capable of recognizing more than one equilateral triangle, and more than one square; and that without a plurality of this kind—a plurality, that is, not of kinds or species but of *instances*—the demonstration of many geometrical propositions would be difficult, if not impossible. It is clear, I think, secondly, that this

kind of plurality, undoubtedly present in geometry as ordinarily pursued, is closely connected with the employment of visible diagrams. It is because the geometrician in some sense recognizes particular triangles that there can be several of them, and it is for the same reason that his demonstration is capable of sensuous illustration. Further, the same fact is indubitably a sure ground for a distinction between mathematics and philosophy, if, as seems probable, it is true that no philosophical argument is capable of sensuous illustration. Nevertheless, if we ask what it is that the mathematician comes to know in the demonstration, the answer is either not triangles in the plural at all, or a plurality which is only a plurality of kind or species. A demonstration concerning a square may speak of several squares, and more than one may figure in the diagram, but what is demonstrated is a truth about *the* square, τὸ τετράγωνον αὐτό; and the plurality of individuals or instances is no more understood and no more intelligible here than in reference to any non-mathematical εἶδος. To the mathematical intelligence, as much as to the philosophical, the only intelligible plurality is plurality of kinds.

But since the two squares which the mathematician talks of are certainly not the figures drawn on paper, and since what is in any way apprehended must in some sense exist, even though as not wholly intelligible it is not wholly real, there is a place possibly for an intermediate order of μαθηματικά between the εἶδη and the things of sense. But if so, it is necessary to walk warily; for these μαθηματικά are not what the mathematician is understanding, except as instances of a universal: what he understands is that which is alone intelligible—the εἶδος itself. Perhaps I may be allowed to illustrate the position by the following words of Hegel (*Logic*: Wallace, II. 27). After explaining the inherent weaknesses of science as contrasted with philosophy, he explains that it may sometimes happen that science is empirical only in form,

‘while intuitive sagacity has arranged what are mere phenomena according to the essential sequence of the notion. In such a case the contrasts between the varied and numerous phenomena brought together serve to eliminate the external and accidental circumstances of their conditions and the universal thus comes clearly into view. Guided by such an intuition experimental physics will present the rational science of Nature—as history will present the science of human affairs and actions—in an external picture, which mirrors the philosophic notion.’

This part of the discussion may now be summed up in the following sentence. Just as in one sense the subject of εἰκασία may be said to be the two-dimensional εἰκών, but in another sense it is the three-dimensional εἰκαστόν; for it is the latter and not the former which is perceived, when the εἰκών is truly apprehended; so here, in one sense the many figures drawn on paper (or if you prefer the many μαθηματικά) are the subject of διάνοια, but in another the one εἶδος itself; for what being they have is derivative from it, and so far as they are understood they are understood as one. Thus my position

with regard to the *μαθηματικά* (if they are correctly described as *ἀεὶ ὄντα* but *πολλά*) is that while their introduction into the Line will to some extent confuse the parallelism of A and C, since the *εἰκόν* of the mathematician will be both the figure on paper and the *μαθηματικόν* for which it stands, yet the main point of the equations will remain unaffected so long as it is admitted that what the mathematician achieves is understanding—imperfect indeed but yet understanding—of true Being.

Finally I must consider what light is thrown upon the Line by the succeeding simile of the Cave.

The close connexion of this simile with what precedes it is explicitly announced by Plato in 517b, *ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν εἰκόνα προσαπτέον ἅπασαν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λεγομένοις*. Let us see how far the correspondence is satisfactory. In the simile we are presented with a sensible and (so to speak) an infra-sensible world, and Plato explains that the world of animals and their reflections presided over by the Sun stands for the intelligible world, while the underground cave lit by the fire stands for the sensible world. The four analogous states therefore are—A. In the Cave: (1) that in which the eyes are fixed upon shadows of puppets; (2) that in which the head is turned round so that the eyes behold the puppets themselves. B. Outside the Cave: (1) that in which the eyes can only bear to see things in their reflections; (2) that in which the eyes are able to face the things themselves and even finally the noonday sun.

In certain respects these four states correspond closely enough with the four segments of the Line. In particular the relation of image and original offered in the Line as an illustration of the relation of the thought-world to the sense-world is here strikingly presented to the imagination. In the cave the shadows are images of the puppets, and the cave-world as a whole is an image of the world outside. Again, outside the cave, that which is first perceived is an image or reflection of that which is later perceived. The prominence of the image-original relation in the Cave is a clear vindication of the importance of that relation to the understanding of the Line. On the other hand, a failure in correspondence may be noted in that the objects which cast the shadows within the cave are not the same as the reflections of the world without, while it was expressly stated before that the originals of *πίστις* are the *εἰκόνες* of *διάνοια*. But it is easy to see that this defect was unavoidable: and the defect itself is perhaps some corroboration of the unimportance of the relation of the two middle sub-segments of the Line to one another.

The point in the simile of the Cave on which critics are chiefly apt to fasten, when expounding the doctrine of the Line, is that in the Cave the prisoners are so situated that they can see nothing but the shadows, with the result that they assume that these *σκευαστῶν σκιάί* are self-explaining and independent existences, and that there is no reality beyond them (see 515 bc). Here, it will be said, Plato is beyond doubt presenting to us the lowest stage

of apprehension as one in which images are taken for reality: therefore no objection can be raised to such an interpretation of *εἰκασία* in the Line.

The apparent conclusiveness of this argument, which has undoubtedly had considerable influence upon interpreters of Plato, is mitigated, I think, by the following considerations. *Εἰκασία* is the *πάθημα τῆς ψυχῆς* or state of mind induced by the contemplation of *εἰκόνες*. Such a *πάθημα* will differ considerably according as the observer knows or does not know that the *εἰκόν* is an *εἰκὼν*. It is claimed that the lowest level of experience is fairly typified by the picture of men mistaking *εἰκόνες* for real existences, and that we have an instance of such a state of mind in e.g. children and savages. In this position, it seems to me, two ideas are confused. On the one hand there is the notion of a savage as of one who, confronted by a shadow or reflection alongside of its original—both being equally accessible to his vision and to that extent discriminated by him—does not distinguish between the being of the one and the being of the other, but thinks each equally substantial: and on the other hand the savage is thought of as one of unclear vision who sees everything in the world through a mist of idle fears and baseless fancies, and thus, preventing himself from seeing anything as it is, may be said to live in a shadow-world and to be acquainted with nothing but shadows. Of these two notions the first takes *εἰκὼν* apparently in its literal sense, but fails to confine the savage to a world which is *all* shadow; while the second purchases a shadow-world at the cost of ignoring the literal sense of Plato's words. In any case the two notions are not properly held in combination. For myself, I do not like the instance of the savage. I take it that in no part of the Line (though the same is perhaps not true of the Cave) are we concerned with real wilful error. Undoubtedly many of those who sit and watch these shadows pass along the wall will be liars and cheats and dupes, imposing on others and imposed upon themselves: but, if we are to examine the *πάθημα τῆς ψυχῆς* induced in the minds of those who watch, let us examine it in a mind which does not distort, in the mind of the awakening philosopher. He would never find salvation at all if he were from the start the victim of a false metaphysic that the shadows before his eyes were the whole of being. He is able to free himself because from the first he fails to find satisfaction in them, and when he has once recognized them to be derivative the first step in his liberation is accomplished. The stages which his thought passes through are stages which thought must necessarily pass through on the road to the *πρότερα φύσει*: in no part of its course need it involve real error. It is such a progress as this, I maintain, which is suggested in the Line and described in the Simile of the Cave. In such a progress *εἰκασία* is analogous to *διάνοια* and *πίστις* to *νοῦς*, and fair justice is done to the picturesque but rather inaccurate imagery of the Cave.

There are several other points connected with the simile of the Cave which it is tempting to discuss here. But I think I will omit them, only saying that it seems to me to be a reversal of the true procedure when critics try to understand the Line by means of the Cave, instead of interpreting the

Cave by the Line. The Cave is far less precise in its metaphors than the Line.

Finally, perhaps I may now be allowed to present a short summary of the views which I have tried in the preceding pages to advance. I urged, first, that the essential purpose of the Simile of the Line is to elucidate the dependence of the world of sight upon the world of thought by comparing it to the dependence of a shadow or reflection on the thing shadowed or reflected, and that this relation of copy to original is the key to the whole exposition. Secondly, I tried to show, as consequent upon this, that the implied equations between the objects of apprehension should be the starting-point of exposition, rather than the different states of mind to which those objects give rise. Thirdly, I argued that the notion of a continuous progression was not within the direct intention of the image; though it inevitably tends to creep in when we turn our attention to the four states of mind which in its second intention the Line in its four divisions represents. Fourthly, resisting the attempt to widen the application of Plato's terms by calling in the assistance of some external evidence, I tried to explain the equations involved and show them coherent and consistent among themselves; and to this end I was obliged to plunge shortly into the controversy as to the separate existence of *μαθηματικά*, and to discuss possible inferences from the allegory of the Cave. Many of these theses were in form negative and controversial, but I hope that in spite of that fact a positive thesis of some consistency has emerged from the discussion.

In conclusion I may remark that the evidence of Proclus, such as it is, points to a far more literal interpretation of Plato's words about *εἰκόνες* and *εἰκαστά* than is fashionable with commentators. He points out, for instance, a fact which commentators do not appear to observe, that while *εἰκόν* is a term of wide application, Plato expressly restricts its use in this passage to those *εἰκόνες* which are due to the action of light (289, 21 sqq.). In his exposition of the Cave there is unfortunately a serious lacuna (293, 22) of such dimensions that there only remains part of the explanation of the first and part of the explanation of the fourth level of experience. The only other point in his exposition which is of interest for the present discussion is his continual emphasis on the close connexion of these two similes with the preceding comparison of the idea of Good to its *ἔκγονος*, the Sun. Proclus reminds us that Socrates himself admitted to a fear lest he should present a false account of the *τόκος*, punning indeed on the word, but 'indicating to an audience which heard his lightest jest with attention that analogy is a dangerous weapon in the hands of a teacher,' *ἐπισφαλὴς ἐστὶ τρόπος διδασκαλίας ὁ διὰ τῆς ἀναλογίας*. In that fact is to be found my apology for writing this paper, and also, I hope, an excuse for whatever I have done amiss.

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A NOTE ON CALLIMACHVS, *HYMN* I. 23.

πολλὰς δὲ Μέλας ὥκχησεν ἀμάξας.

THE identity of the river Μέλας is even more obscure than that of the Ἰάων (I. 22). Strabo and Dionysius Periegetes alone mention a Peloponnesian river of the name.

(1) In Strabo VIII. 7, 4 (386) the text as it stands reads εἰτ' Ὀλενος, παρ' ὃν ποταμὸς μέγας Μέλας. But, as the whole list of twelve Achaean cities which he gives is obviously copied closely from Hdt. I. 145, where we find Ὀλενος, ἐν τῇ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, Coraes conjectured that Πεῖρος has fallen out of the text of Strabo after παρ' ὃν, which it resembles; and he takes Μέλας as a gloss by dittography on μέγας. In this view he is supported by Kramer (*ad loc.*) and Frazer (on Paus. VII. 18, 1). The name Πεῖρος or Πίερος for this river near Dyme Olenus and Pharae is attested by Pausanias (VII. 18, 1-2; 22, 1), and by Strabo (VIII. 3, 11. 342), who quotes the name Πεῖρος from Hesiod, and gives also another name Achelous for the same river. As Kramer says, it is unlikely that the Peirus or Achelous would have a third name, and that this would have been used by Strabo (in VIII. 7, 4) without any mention of the other two. And, again, the position of the word Μέλας in our existing text of Strabo is unnatural. The text of Strabo as it stands is indeed found in a citation by Eustathius (on *Iliad* II. 574); but that fact merely goes to show that by Eustathius' time the corruption was firmly rooted.

(2) The passage of Dionys. Perieg. is as follows (ll. 409 sqq.)—

τῆς μὲν πρὸς Ζεφύροιο Τριφυλίδος ἥθεα γαίης,
 ἐνθ' ἐρατεινότατος ποταμῶν Ἀλφειὸς ὁδεύει,
 * * * * *
 καδδὲ μέσσην νῆσον κοίλῃν χθόνα ναιετάουσιν
 Ἀρκάδες Ἀπιδανῆες ὑπὸ σκοπιῇν Ἐρμάνθου,
 ἐνθα Μέλας, ὅθι Κρᾶθις, ἵνα ῥέει ὑγρὸς Ἰάων,
 ἦχι καὶ ὠγύγιος μηχανύεται ὕδασι Λάδων.

Here we have an obvious imitation of Callimachus—Ἀρκάδες Ἀπιδανῆες (cf. Ἀπιδανῆες, Call. I. 14), ὑγρὸς Ἰάων (I. 22), μηχανύεται ὕδασι Λάδων (Λάδων ἀλλ' οὐπω μέγας ἔρρεεν, I. 18), and the repetition of the names Μέλας, Κρᾶθις, Ἐρμάνθος (this last is a *river* in Call. I. 18). So Dionysius' words have no geographical value as regards the location of the Melas.

Carl Müller (on Dionys. Perieg., *l. c.*) suggests that the Melas may be either (a) a river near Melaneae, on the road from Gortys to Heraea; or (b) in N. Arcadia, near Argolis, and not far from the river Aroanius, quoting Vitruvius

(II. 8, 12): 'Cum autem *Melas et Arouanias* ab Argis et Troezenae coloniam communem eo loci (to Asia) deduxerunt, barbaros Caras et Lelegas eiecerunt.'

I would suggest that the *Mélas* is the river Styx, which supplies the waterfall Styx near Nonacris in N. Arcadia, and farther on becomes a tributary of the Crathis (Paus. VIII. 18. 4). Mr. J. G. Frazer, who gives a fine description of the waterfall in his commentary on Pausanias (VIII. 17, 6), says that the cliffs there quite surpass those of Delphi in grandeur, and proceeds: 'The cliff down which the water comes is merely the eastern and lower end of this huge wall of rock. Seen from a distance it appears to be streaked perpendicularly with black and red. The black streak marks the line of the waterfall, to which it has given the modern name of *Mavronero*, "the Black Water." The colour is produced by a dark incrustation, which spreads over the smooth face of the rock wherever it is washed by the falling water or by the spray into which the water is dissolved before it reaches the ground.' Another modern name is 'the Dragon Water.' 'Apuleius,' says Frazer (*l. c.*), 'represents the water as guarded by fierce dragons. See Apuleius, *Met.* VI. 14 sq. This belief that the water was guarded by dragons explains the name of the Dragon Water, by which the cascade is sometimes still known. . . . The dark colour of the water, as seen against the black incrustation on the face of the cliff, was explained by a fable that Demeter, mourning for her lost daughter, and angry at the importunate courtship of Poseidon, came to the spring, and seeing her dark lowering features mirrored in the water, loathed it and made it black. See Ptolemaeus, *Nov. Hist.* III. (*Mythogr. Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 186). It thus appears that for both the modern local names of the Styx, namely the Black Water and the Dragon Water, mythological explanations are to be found in ancient writers. It seems probable therefore that these have always been the local names for the waterfall, while Styx may have been a name given to it by the learned. When Leake discovered the waterfall in 1806, the natives knew nothing of the Styx as the name for the fall. They called it the Black Water or the Dragon Water. Now of course they are, through travellers, familiar with the name of Styx.' Perhaps Aristophanes hints at a local name *Mélas* in *Στυγὸς* . . . *μελανοκάρδιος πέτρα* (*Frogs*, 470).

It is reasonable to suppose that Callimachus, after his wont, would like to display his erudition here by using the less historic local name for the waterfall or the stream which supplied it. This theory harmonizes with Vitruvius' words, as the Styx is near the Aroanius. Callimachus' geographical researches, in connexion with his treatises entitled *Ἀρκαδία* and *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ποταμῶν*, may have supplied him with the local name; or, if he travelled in Peloponnesus, the natural grandeur of the place would cause him to visit it, and he would then learn the local name from the natives. For the Styx see further Hdt. VI. 74; Strabo VIII. 8, 4 (389).

M. T. SMILEY.

AD EPICTETI DISSERTATIONES.

I 13 3 Πῶς οὖν τις ἀνάσχηται τῶν τοιούτων (seruorum offensiones et molestias);—'Ανδράποδον, οὐκ ἀνέξῃ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ σαυτοῦ, ὃς ἔχει τὸν Δία πρόγονον, ὥσπερ υἱὸς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων γέγονεν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν καταβολῆς;

Ne frater qui sit (ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων), filius dicatur, proponimus: ὃς ἔχει τὸν Δία πρόγονον ὥσπερ σύ, ὃς ἐκ τ.ἀ.σ.γ.

I 19 2 Interpungendum uidetur: καὶ τί μοι δύνασαι παρασχεῖν; ὄρεξίν μοι δύνασαι περιποιῆσαι ἀκώλυτον; πόθεν σοι; σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις <;> ἔκκλισιν ἀπερίπτωτον; σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις <;> ὁρμὴν ἀναμάρτητον; καὶ ποῦ σοι μέτεστιν;

II 1 33 Et alibi saepius et hic auditores suos corripit Epictetus, quod neglegentes quae ad uitae usum pertineant, in scholae umbra habitare nusquam desinant et in λεξειδίους λογαρίους περιοδίους συλλογισμοῖς διαλόγοις omne ponant studium.—'Quid igitur, Socrates non scribebat?'—Scribebat, sed ut philosophus: is autem λεξείδια καὶ †ἡ ὁδός, ἣν λέγω†, ἄλλοις ἀφίησι, τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις ἢ τοῖς μακαρίοις, τοῖς σχολὴν ἄγουσιν ὑπὸ ἀταραξίας ἢ τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν ἔξης ὑπολογιζομένοις διὰ μωρίαν.

Dialogos quos subinde nominat (34 'ἰδοῦ πῶς διαλόγους συντίθημι') tecte et per iocum indicat: λεξείδια δὲ καὶ 'ἦ δ' ὅς' 'ἦν δ' ἐγώ' ἄλλοις ἀφίησι κτέ.

II 23 40 ἐπεὶ διὰ λόγον καὶ τοιαύτης παραδόσεως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον δεῖ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐκκαθᾶραι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν χρηστικὴν τῶν φαντασιῶν ὀρθὴν κατασκευάσαι, ἀνάγκη δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν γίνεσθαι τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ διὰ λέξεως ποιᾶς καὶ μετὰ τινος ποικιλίας καὶ δριμύτητος [τῶν θεωρημάτων], ὑπ' αὐτῶν τινες τούτων ἀλίσκόμενοι καταμένουσιν αὐτοῦ, κτέ.

Vix dubium quin recte praepositionem restituerit Elter: γίνεσθαι διὰ θεωρημάτων, at quae sequuntur monent ut scribatur διὰ τινων θεωρημάτων.

III 1 22 οὐδὲ γὰρ λένοντι τὸ τυχὸν βοίδιον τολμᾷ ἀντιστῆναι αὐτῷ. ἂν δ' ὁ ταῦρος προσελθὼν ἀνθίστηται, λέγε αὐτῷ, ἂν σοι δόξῃ, 'σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;'

Prius αὐτῷ delent apographa, post ταῦρος transponit Wolf; num forte αὐτό (solum)? Cf. III 24 24 θεομαχήσω, ἀντιθήσω πρὸς τὸν Δία, ἀντιδιατάξομαι αὐτὸς (sic Schweighaeuser pro αὐτῷ) πρὸς τὰ ὅλα.

III 10 13 τί ἐστι καλῶς πυρέσσειν ; μὴ θεὸν μέμψασθαι, μὴ ἄνθρωπον, μὴ θλιβῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν γινομένων, εὖ καὶ καλῶς προσδέχεσθαι τὸν θάνατον, ποιεῖν τὰ προστασώμενα.

Neque εὖ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν θάνατον, ut puto, usquam recte dicitur, neque καλῶς utpote in ipsius uerbi definitione (τί ἐστι καλῶς πυρέσσειν) hoc loco ferri potest. Verba εὖ καὶ καλῶς quasi emendata esse suspicor ex εὐκαλως, praue scilicet pro εὐκόλως. Cf. IV 1 30 τὸ εὐκόλως ἀποθνήσκειν, *ibid.* 80 ἄφες κἀκεῖνα (= ὅσα τοῦ σώματος ἔνεκα παρασκευάζεται), ἀπόλυε θάπτον καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἢ τὸ ὀνάριον (= τὸ σῶμα), *ibid.* 154 οὐδ' ὑπεραπέθανεν ἂν εὐκολώτερον τῆς πατρίδος ἄλλος, M. Antonin. IX 3 εὐκολος πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, X 36 τοῦτο οὖν ἐννοήσεις ἀποθνήσκων καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἐξελεύσῃ.

III 22 47 (Diogenis Cynici uerba sunt) ἴδετέ με, ἄοικός εἰμι, ἄπολις, ἀκτῆμων, ἄδουλος· χαμαὶ κοιμῶμαι· οὐ γυνή, οὐ παῖδιά, οὐ πραιτωρίδιον, ἀλλὰ γῇ μόνον καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἐν τριβωνάριον. Pro πραιτωρίδιον non inuenio quod melius conueniat quam πατρῷδιον. Cf. IV 5 15 ἀπολέσαι τὰ ἴδια, οὐ τὰ πατρῷα, τὸ ἀγρίδιον καὶ τὸ οἰκίδιον κτέ.

III 22 55 'ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐν τῇ σῇ εἰρήνῃ οἷα πάσχω. ἄγωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον.' Κυνικῶ δὲ Καῖσαρ τί ἐστίν ἢ ἀνθύπατος ἢ ἄλλος ἢ ὁ καταπεπομφὼς αὐτὸν καὶ ϕ λατρεῖ, ὁ Ζεὺς ; ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπικαλεῖται ἢ ἐκείνον ; Non plene, puto, haec emendauerunt Reiske et Coraes Καῖσαρ τί<ς> ἐστίν ἢ ἀνθύπατος [η] ἄλλος κτέ., debuerunt enim propter encliticam quae sequitur (ἄλλον τινά) : Καῖσάρ τίς ἐστίν ἢ ἀνθύπατος [η] ἄλλος ἢ κτέ. ; Cf. III 24 117 ἂν δ' ἅπαξ περιποιήσῃ τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ ἄφοβον, ἔτι σοι τύραννος ἔσται τις ἢ δορυφόρος ἢ Καισαριανοὶ (corrigere : -νός) κτέ. ;

III 24 19 τῷ ὄντι κακῶς διοικεῖται τὰ ὅλα, εἰ μὴ ἐπιμελεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ἔν' ὧσιν ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ εὐδαίμονες.

Wendland ὁμοίως suspicatus est ; lenius remedium petas ex I 15 3 ὅμοιον ἀγρῷ, ὅμοιον ὑγείᾳ, ὅμοιον εὐδοξίᾳ.

III 24 89—'Ἀλλὰ δύσφημά ἐστι ταῦτα.—Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπαιδῶν ἔναι (pro ἔναι restituit Schenkl ex Bodleiano), ἀλλ' ὅτι ὠφελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφομαι, μόνον ὠφελείτω. σὺ δὲ κτέ.

Restitue quod propter sequens σύ periit : ὠφελείτω<σαν>.

IV 1 120 Καὶ τίς ἢ ζημία τῷ δήσαντι τὸν αὐτοῦ δούλον ;—'Ἦν δοκεῖς ; τὸ δῆσαι τοῦτο· ὃ καὶ σὺ ὁμολογήσεις κτέ. Schenkl in adnotationis supplemento (ed. min.) interpungit—δούλον ἦν δοκεῖς ;—Τὸ δῆσαι τοῦτο· ὃ καὶ σὺ ὁμολογήσεις κτέ. Praetulerim—Τὸ δῆσαι· τοῦτο ὃ καὶ σὺ ὁμολογήσεις coll. III 24 51 Τί δ' ὄφελος τῷ γράφοντι τὸ Δίωνος ὄνομα, ὡς χρὴ γράφειν αὐτό ;—Τὸ γράφαι. et I 18 13 τοῦτο ὃ καὶ σὺ φαντάζῃ.

SOME NOTES ON LONGVS.

I 2. Longus is telling of the discovery of the infant Daphnis: *κατ' ἔχνος ἔλθων [ὁ Λάμων] ὁρᾷ τὴν μὲν αἶγα πεφυλαγμένως περιβεβηκυῖαν, μὴ ταῖς χηλαῖς βλάπτει πατούσα, τὸ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ μητρώϊας θηλῆς τὴν ἐπιρροὴν ἔλκον τοῦ γάλακτος.* Seiler 'caute et anxie circumeuntem,' Hirschig 'caute circumeuntem.' Tense as well as context point to 'bestriding.' See L. and S. under *περιβαίνω*.

II 8. Daphnis and Chloe, after their conversation with old Philetas, begin to realize that they are in love. Like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and the Methymnaeans in II 15, a dramatic convention represents them as both saying the same thing at once. 'Lovers are in pain,' they say, 'and 'and so are we. . . . They long to see each other, and for that we, too, pray day will quickly come.' And then '*σχεδὸν τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ ἔρως· καὶ ἐρῶμεν ἀλλήλων οὐκ εἰδότες εἰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐστιν ὁ ἔρως, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ ἐρώμενος*', which editors variously emend and punctuate. Except perhaps for reading with Courier *ἡρῶμεν* (on the *ἦν ἄρα* principle: cf. Theocr. 10. 38), I propose to leave the text as it is. *ἐγὼ*, in the circumstances, contains *σύ*. In full it would be: 'This surely is love (lit. love is this); and we are all the time in love with each other, without knowing if this be love, without knowing, I, if I, you, if you, be a lover (lit. the loved be I).' *ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐρώμενοι* one would have thought sufficient; but Longus seems to have wished to confine the knowing, or rather the not-knowing, to self-knowledge.

II 15. Daphnis' goats, fleeing from the hounds of a party of hunters who had landed near, had gone down to the beach and, finding nothing else to eat, had nibbled in two the twisted withe which fastened their yacht to the shore. The hunters are now accusing Daphnis before an arbitrator of having caused the loss of the yacht, and they end their speech thus: *ἀνθ' ὧν ἀξιούμεν ἄγειν τοῦτον πονηρὸν ὄντα αἰπόλον, ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης †ιδὼν† νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης.* The last two words have been suspected, and, I think, justly; but they are of no great importance.

For *ιδὼν* Courier read *ἰών* and Jacobs *ἀλύων*. *ἰών* is unlikely to have been corrupted and *ἀλύων* is hardly near enough. But of this presently. My first point is that editors have not seen that the question whether *ἐπὶ* means

'upon,' quite locally, or 'at,' as the source of the goats' food, is left intentionally in doubt. The latter suits the facts, the former, by a pardonable exaggeration, the accusers' representation of them. For ἐπί in the second sense cf. Theophr. *Char.* 16. 13 περιρραίνεσθαι ἐπὶ θαλάττης and Isocr. *Antid.* 287 ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑννεακρούνου ψύχουσιν οἶνον.

I agree with Bonner's objections, *Classical Philology*, 1907, p. 339, to Mr. Herbert Richards' proposal, *C. R.* 1906, p. 21, that we should read ὡς ναύτην and take it with ἄγειν τοῦτον. Bonner, too, sees an ambiguity in ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, though a slightly different one ('by the seaside' and 'on the high seas'). His suggestion—and here is my second point—that we have here a play on the two meanings of αἶγες, 'goats' and 'waves' (see L. and S.), is so attractive that I feel some compunction in trying to improve upon it. As the text stands, however, it seems to me precluded by the impossibility of giving a satisfactory meaning to νέμει τὰ κύματα (of a sailor), as well as by the simplicity of Longus' style. Is it possible that Longus wrote δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγῶν νέμει τὰς αἶγας, 'who feeds his goats on (at)

the waves
his goats

?' This would give point to πονηρὸν ὄντα αἰπόλον and is more in accordance with Longus' straightforwardness. We may then take ἰδὼν as simply the remains of αἰγῶν about to be ousted by the gloss θαλάσσης. The play on the two meanings of μέλη, on which, as Courier saw, the story of Echo turns (III 23), is perhaps hardly parallel. But there is the pun on Γνάθων and γνάθος in IV 11, and the very obvious jest in III 6 οὐκ αἰσίοις [MSS αἰσιον] ὀρνισιν ἐλθὼν, of the failure of Daphnis' bird-catching ruse to lead to a meeting with Chloe.

III 4. It is the depth of winter, and Longus is describing how, in contrast to the other labourers, who enjoy their enforced inactivity, Daphnis and Chloe ἐν μνήμῃ γεγόμενοι τῶν καταλειφθέντων τερπνῶν, ὡς ἐφίλουν, ὡς περιέβαλλον, ὡς ἅμα τὴν τροφὴν προσεφέροντο, νύκτας τε ἀγρύπνους διήγον καὶ λυπηρὰς καὶ τὴν ἡρινὴν ὥραν ἀνέμενον ἐκ θανάτου παλιγγενεσίαν. And it was pain to them if they chanced upon a wallet from which they had been wont to eat, or a pitcher from which together they had drunk, or, cast aside now and forgotten, a pipe that had passed between them as a lover's gift. They prayed to Pan and to the Nymphs to grant them release, and to show them and their flocks the light of the sun; and while they prayed they cast about to find means to see each other.' The context calls for λυπηρὰς <ἡμέρας>: τε is in favour of it, and homoioteleuton would account for the omission.

III 6. One snowy winter's day Daphnis has come bird-catching to some trees near the house of Chloe's foster-parents in the hope of getting a sight of Chloe. The day is passing and no one stirs from the house. Trying at last to screw up his courage to go in unasked, Daphnis says, in effect: 'Suppose I say "I came to borrow a light for our fire"; her parents will

rejoin, "Why, have you no neighbours near by?" Suppose I say, "I came to ask for some loaves of bread," they will reply, "But your wallet is full of food——"' and so on till we come to the words: *Χλόην θεάσασθαι βούλομαι. πατρὶ δὲ τίς καὶ μητρὶ παρθένου τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖ; πταίων δὲ πανταχοῦ σιωπῇ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἀπάντων ἀνύποπτον. ἄμεινον ἄρα σιγᾶν· Χλόην δὲ ἥρος ὄψομαι, ἐπεὶ μὴ εἴμαρτο, ὡς ἔοικε, χειμῶνός με ταύτην ἰδεῖν.* (The best MS omits *ἀλλ' οὐδὲν . . . διανοηθείς*, but the omitted sentences are obviously genuine.) The passage has been variously emended and transposed. The question is, Where does the imaginary conversation end? and what of the repetition *σιωπῇ . . . σιγᾶν*? If we read *ὁμολογεῖς* and *σιωπῇ* and put a comma after *πανταχοῦ*, all is clear. *ὁμολογεῖς* is then the last word of the imaginary conversation. After trying some or all of the above pretexts, Daphnis, proceeding, imagines himself blurting out at last the true reason: "I wish to see Chloe." "Why, who are *you*," they will say, "to admit such a thing to the father and mother of a maiden?" And then, on every hand defeated,—silence (i.e. to this last question I shall not have a word to say). Alas! (*ἀλλά* sweeping the whole device aside as not to be thought of) these pretexts are full of suspicion, every one of them. So it were better I held my peace altogether (i.e. gave it up, went away silent and unsuccessful; not referring to *σιωπῇ* above), and I shall see Chloe in the spring, etc.' For *τίς ὁμολογεῖς* cf. IV 35 *τίνα ὁρῶ ταῦτα*; and L. and S. under *τίς* B. 2. The anacoluthon *πταίων . . . σιωπῇ* is of a fairly common type, e.g. Plato, *Leg.* 769c *θνητὸς ὢν . . . σμικρὸν τινα χρόνον αὐτῷ πόνος παραμένει πάμπολυς* (for *θνητὸς ὢν πόνον ἔχει*); nor is the tense of *πταίων* impossible. Though Kühner-Blass do not include *πταίω* among the verbs which use present for past, it is sufficiently analogous to *νικῶ* and *ἡττῶμαι*. To add a small point, the ending of *εἴμαρτο* may well be an anticipation of *ὥρμητο*, two lines below, and we should perhaps read *εἴμαρται*. See Mr. Herbert Richards, *Xenophon and Others*, p. 303.

III 34. Daphnis presents Chloe with an apple from the topmost bough, and thus ends his pretty speech: *τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλους ἔλαβεν ἄθλον, τοῦτο ἐγὼ σοι δίδωμι νικητήριον. ὁμοίως ἔχομεν τοὺς σοὺς μάρτυρας·† ἐκεῖνος ἦν ποιμήν, αἰπόλος ἐγώ.* The reference is, of course, to the Judgment of Paris. The MSS vary between *ὁμοίους* and *ὁμοίως*, and one (not the best) has *συμμάρτυρας*. It would be easy to read *ἔχετε* (sc. *σὺ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ*) and omit *σοὺς* with some editors; but this would not account for *ἐκεῖνος*. The subject of *ἔχομεν* must be either (1) the speaker, Daphnis, speaking of himself in the plural (but this, if not without parallel in Longus, is unlikely with *ἐγώ* following); (2) Daphnis and the person addressed, Chloe; or (3) *ἐγὼ καὶ ἐκεῖνος*. Now, *ἐκεῖνος* implies that the person has been already mentioned. Therefore, I take it, the subject is *ἐγὼ καὶ ἐκεῖνος*. I propose *ὁμοίως ἔχομεν* <*καὶ ὁ ἐκείνης καὶ*> *ὁ σοὺς μάρτυρες*, 'we are alike, her witness (i.e. the witness to her beauty) and thine; he was a shepherd, a goatherd I.' Three things,

at least, here invited corruption, and the following may well have been the stages of its development :

ὁμοίως ἔχομεν καὶ ὁ σὸς μάρτυρες (haplography).

ὁμοίως ἔχομεν οἱ σοὶ μάρτυρες.

ὁμοίους ἔχομεν τοὺς σοὺς μάρτυρας.

Castiglioni's suggestion, *Rivista di Filol.* 1906, p. 313, ὁμοίους ἔχει (sc. τὸ μῆλον) μὴν τοὺς μάρτυρας, fails, to my mind, to account for ἐκεῖνος.

IV 20. Old Lamon has just told his master the story of the finding of the infant Daphnis. Suspecting that he has invented it with a view to keeping Daphnis at home, the master urges him to speak the truth. 'ὥς δὲ ἀτενὴς ἦν,' Longus goes on, 'καὶ κατὰ πάντων ὥμνυ θεῶν καὶ ἐδίδου βασιανίζειν αὐτὸν εἰ ψεύδεται, καθημένης τῆς Κλεαρίστης (the master's wife) ἐβασάνιζε (sc. ὁ δεσπότης) τὰ λελεγμένα.' The repetition, as the text stands, has a comic effect, reminding one of the story, "Saddle me the ass"; and they saddled *him*.' There is little doubt that this is a case of that accidental repetition with which Mr. Herbert Richards deals in his *Xenophon and Others*, p. 307 sqq., and of which he gives at p. 264 other examples from Longus. For ἐβασάνιζε substitute ἤλεγχε from the parallel passage IV 31.

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A LINE OF LVCILIVS.

LVCILIVS 1191 (Ma.) is preserved for us in Isid. *Etym.* XIX, iv, 10, where, amongst the articles of a ship's equipment, the plummet (catapirates, the *καταπειρητήριον* of Herodotus) is mentioned, with this illustration (I give the reading of the Archetype) from Lucilius :

Hunc (hanc ?) catapiratem puer eodem deforet unctum,
plumbi paucillum rudus linique mataxam.

The second line offers no trouble. In the first line Marx could make nothing of *deforet* and changed it to *deferat*. Havet then pointed out (*Arch. Lat. Lex.* XV, 105) that *deforare* could mean 'to lower from the gangway, (*forus*), (like *depontare*, 'to throw down from the bridge'). But new light has been brought by the discovery of the mosaic of Althiburus, which, under the heading <CAT>APIRAT . . ., offers this very line of Lucilius. Unfortunately only the last two words can be deciphered, or, at least, could be deciphered when Gauckler wrote his account of the mosaic in *Monum. Piot.* XII, 144 (1906). They are *deuoret unctum*.

Now, Isidore was a Spaniard. His etymological encyclopaedia has come down to us by Spanish tradition. The Archetype of our MSS. must have had Spanish script and spelling. A Spanish scribe may be known by his *mici* for *mihī*, his *nicil* for *nihil*, his *quum* for *cum*, and no less by his use of *f* for *v*. So that *deforet* in a Spanish-Latin MS. means either *deforet* or *deuoret*.¹

Deuoret therefore must be right. We may suppose that the delicious flavour of some syrup or paste is being described. 'A boy (or a slave or the sailor who is handling the plummet) would swallow this plummet if it were smeared with this same delicious stuff.'

Of course the scansion *eodem* (disyll.) offers no difficulty. It occurs in other fragments of Lucilius (e.g. 353, 570), and is common in Lucretius (cf. Munro ad i, 306) and the older Republican poets (see Neue, *Formenlehre*, or L. Müller, *De re metrica*, for examples).

Even Virgil approves the line opening *Uno eodemque* (*Ecl.* 8, 81, *uno eodemque igni*; *Aen.* 12, 847, *uno eodemque tulit*; cf. 10, 487).²

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ST. ANDREWS.

¹ Thus in our MSS. of the *Etymologiae* *deuoro* appears as *deforo* in XI, iii, 33 (*deforat*); XII, ii, 24 (*deforant*); VIII, xi, 31 (*deforasse*); VII, vi, 48 (*deforans*), etc.; and similarly *provincia* as *profincia* in VIII, v, 27, etc., *debere* as *deferre*, and the like.

² Servius seems to say that the first foot in this Virgilian opening is a dactyl. At least that is the way I interpret his note on *Aen.* 1, 575 (*atque utinam rex ipse noto compulsus eodem*): EODEM, o naturaliter longa est, sed si corripiatur metri est, ut 'steteruntque comae.'

NOTES ON PASSAGES IN CICERO.

I.

IN *Brutus* § 274 Cicero writes: The style of M. Calidius was pure and limpid; he used no word that was ‘durum aut insolens aut humile aut longius ductum. Erant autem et uerborum et sententiarum illa lumina quae uocant Graeci σχήματα . . . (§ 275) “Qua de re agitur” autem illud quod multis locis in iuris consultorum includitur formulis *et ubi esset uidebat.*’ In the last phrase, which I give in the MSS reading, editors have adopted for *et ubi* the suggestion of Corradus *id ubi*. There seem to be two objections to it: (1) poor sense, (2) doubtful syntax. Impelled by these objections but pressing overmuch the relevancy of a somewhat similar phrase (*De Fin.* V. 26. 78: si est quisquam qui acute in causis uidere soleat quae res agatur is es profecto tu) one editor proposed ‘acutissime uidebat.’ But the context shows that Cicero is describing the language of Calidius, not his mental powers; so a reference to keenness in perceiving the subject of dispute is not relevant. In § 276 the passage proceeds to enumerate the formal qualities of his style: ‘accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, actio liberalis, totumque dicendi placidum et sanum genus.’

The train of thought in §§ 274-76 seems to be this: ‘Calidius was careful in his language to avoid harsh or undistinguished or far-fetched words. He used distinguished expressions which give variety to a speech.’ May the next sentence not have said somewhat parenthetically: He used to scoff at the frequency with which the harsh undistinguished and confused phrase ‘qua de re agitur’ occurred in legal business? Remembering Cicero’s own scoff in *Pro Mur.* 28: ‘neque quicquam tam anguste scriptum est quo ego non possim “qua de re agitur” addere,’ I would suggest ‘quod superesset ridebat.’ We have then a natural use of the subjunctive. For a similar construction with *ridere* cp. Cic. *Quint.* 17. 55: ‘ridet nostram amentiam qui rationem summi officii desideremus.’ *Superesse* is used meaning ‘to be superfluous’ in a passage that is relevant in meaning to this passage (*De Or.* II. 108): . . . ‘ut uis eius rei quam definias sic exprimatur ut neque absit quicquam neque supersit.’ Aul. Gell. (I. 22) has a chapter on the proper use of *superesse* in which he says: ‘qui integre locuti sunt, magnam partem “superesse” ita dixerunt ut eo uerbo significarent superfluere et superuacare atque esse supra

necessarium modum. . . . M. autem Cicero in libro qui inscriptus est *de iure civili in artem redigendo* uerba haec posuit: "nec uero scientia iuris maioribus suis Q. Aelius Tubero defuit, doctrina etiam superfuit." In quo loco "superfuit" significare uidetur "supra fuit et praestitit superauitque maiores suos doctrina sua, superfluenti tamen et nimis abundanti." Cf. also *De Rep.* III. 32.

Palaeographically *quod* is as near the MSS reading (derived from a single archetype) as the reading *id* which is at present accepted. If the *s* of *super* dropped out, the contraction would resemble *ubi*.

II.

In *Brutus* § 252 Atticus is represented as saying: 'de Caesare iudico . . . illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime; nec id solum domestica consuetudine ut dudum de Laeliorum et Muciorum familiis audiebamus; . . . qui de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit primoque in libro dixerit uerborum dilectum originem esse eloquentiae.' He quotes (§ 253) Caesar's judgment on Cicero: 'ac si, ut cogitata praeclare eloqui possent, nonnulli studio et usu elaborauerunt, cuius te paene principem copiae atque inuentorem bene de nomine ac dignitate populi Romani meritum esse existimare debemus, hunc facilem et cotidianum nouisse sermonem nunc pro relicto est habendum.' This quotation has been generally and rightly considered corrupted.

Atticus proceeds (§ 258) to show that 'solum et quasi fundamentum oratoris' was 'locutionem emendatam et Latinam; cuius penes quos laus adhuc fuit, non fuit rationis aut scientiae sed quasi bonae consuetudinis.' The Latin idiom of Laelius and Scipio had become debased. 'Quo magis expurgandus est sermo et adhibenda tanquam obrussa ratio quae mutari non potest, nec utendum prauissima consuetudinis regula.' Instances are given of persons who spoke the native idiom without correction of it from literature: Sisenna is mentioned who ignoring rules of idiom formed the hybrid 'sputatilica. . . .' But 'Caesar rationem adhibens consuetudinem uitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat' (§ 261).

Caesar's theory and practice (see § 262) of Latin style was therefore this: to aim at simplicity and true idiom in one's choice of words and of new forms. Cf. the fragment of the *De Analogia* in Aul. Gell. I. 10. 4: 'Habe semper in memoria atque in pectore ut tanquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens uerbum.' It was Caesar who being 'sermonis praeter alios suae aetatis castissimi' (Aul. Gell. XIX. 8. 3) called Terence 'puri sermonis amator.' But the question arose: 'How are we to know the true Latin idiom?' Caesar's answer would be: 'Avoid the errors of the Grecizers and of the

adherents of the principle of ἀνωμαλία.¹ The rules of Latin formations are to be found latent in the best colloquial speech of the day of educated men and women. (Cf. Cicero's praise of the charm and the purity of such colloquial speech (not of course to be confounded with the *sermo plebeius*), especially in women, in *Brutus* 210 sqq., 252; *de Orat.* III. 12. 45.) These rules are made explicit by me in my *De Analogia*.² The time is now come when to be ignorant of the rules of correct colloquial speech should be regarded as a literary fault.'

Thus I would suggest that in § 253 for *ac si* we read *etsi*, and at the end 'cotidianum <non> nouisse sermonem nunc pro delicto est habendum.' The interpretation would be: 'although many, of whom Cicero is the chief, have successfully enriched the Latin language by study of it and by their use of it in speaking, yet at this stage to be ignorant of the colloquial idiom is a literary fault; (for the ordinary person to whom these remarks are addressed, if he attempted to introduce new forms, would make mistakes in ignorance of the rules of idiom).'³ Caesar the purist would have objected to such formations (by others than Cicero, and unless in jest) as *facteon*, *σησιτωδέστερον*, *Appietas aut Lentulitas*.

With regard to the form of the words which I suggest, the *non* might very easily drop out between *-anum* and *nouisse*. *Delictum*⁴ is used of a literary fault in Hor. *A. P.* 347, 442. The phrase *parua delicta* is used in *De Off.* I. 145 to mean 'little offences against decorum,' so that the word sometimes had a light meaning. Quintilian (I. 5. 49) and Aul. Gell. (V. 4. 2) use the verb *delinquere* of errors in language.

¹ In the last century B.C., as is well known, there were two theories about the correct Latin style. One party represented by Caesar sought to restore greater regularity to Latin by observance of ἀναλογία in importing or in forming words. The other party represented by Varro accepted irregularity as a necessary thing on the principle of ἀνωμαλία in language; cp. Laurant, *Le Style des Discours de Cicéron*, pp. 95 sqq.; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 185 sqq.; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 176.

² All the other fragments of the *De Analogia*, including that given by Aul. Gell. (I. 10. 4), deal with the morphology of words, so the citation

made by Cicero may have come from Caesar's introduction to his book. Or does it also refer to the choice of words according to their form?

³ It is possible that the original remark of Caesar did not end where it ends in Cicero.

⁴ After conjecturing *delicto* independently, I saw from Wilkins' note in his edition in the new Oxford Classical Texts that Schütz had anticipated me, without however inserting *non*. In the only copy of Schütz's edition that I have found (Leipzig, 1815) the reading is *num pro derelicto*, with no remark on any previous reading by the editor.

III.

In the *De Finibus* II. 17. 56 Cicero attacking the Epicureans says: Si magna res, magna hereditas agetur, cum pecunia uoluptates pariantur plurimae, idem erit Epicuro uestro faciendum, si suum finem bonorum sequi uolet, quod Scipioni, magna gloria proposita, si Hannibalem in Africam retraxisset. . . . Sic uester sapiens magno aliquo emolumento commotus tunc causa, si opus erit, dimicabit. Occultum facinus esse potuerit, gaudebit; deprehensus omnem poenam contemnet. Erit enim instructus ad mortem contemnendam, ad exilium, ad ipsum etiam dolorem.

The line of argument seems clearly to be as follows: The Epicurean, to obtain money which is the means of procuring his pleasures, will be most resolute in seeking money by fair means or foul. If his foul means are detected, he will bear the extreme penalties.

For the corrupted words *cum* and *dimicabit*, Madvig proposed the unsuitable conjecture *cum amico*; others, with more probability, *amicum suum* . . . *necabit*. The objection to this latter conjecture is that (1) there is no hint how the murder of his friend is to help the Epicurean voluptuary to the money which he desires; (2) no reason is given why *necabit* became *dimicabit*. Miss Hutchinson, wrongly in my opinion, suggests *cum caterua*. To fight even *cum caterua* could hardly be a *facinus occultum*.

I suggest that the true reading may be ' . . . commotus, *commodorum* causa, si opus erit, *heredem* necabit.' After the previous mention of a *hereditas* the notion of the voluptuary enriching himself by the murder or the poisoning of an heir (cp. the *pro Cluentio*, § 23) is appropriate. It was one of the charges brought against the Epicurean Caelius (*pro Cael.* 51) that he had taken money to procure a murder; cp. also Sall. *Cat.* 15. Palaeographically *commodorum* might easily fall out after *commotus*; while if the ending of *heredem* became blurred, the reason is evident why the simple word *necabit* became changed to *dimicabit*, the remainder (*h*)ere being thought to be a mistaken repetition of *erit*.

JOHN MACINNES.

VARIA LATINA.

I.

LIV. II. 5. 2 : Ager Tarquiniorum qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit.

Surely Livy had too nice an ear to finish two clauses close together with *fuit*. Rather than that he would no doubt have written *qui . . . fuerat*, which would indeed have been more regular and proper with the *fuit* following. But should not the second *fuit* be *fit*, a historic present like *res integra refertur* just before ? The two words are so much alike that it was easy to identify them.

II.

CIC. in C. Verr. II. 5. 31. 81 : sic uixit ut muliebria cotidie conuiuia essent, uir accumberet nemo praeter ipsum et praetextatum filium, etsi recte sine exceptione dixeram uirum, cum isti essent, neminem fuisse.

If *dixeram* is right, there should at any rate be some pause marked between *nemo* and *praeter*. But *dixerim* seems probable, 'I might truly say.'

III.

STAT. Theb. 9. 492 :

stabat gramineae producta crepidine ripae
undarum ac terrae dubio sed amicior undis
fraxinus.

Should not *ac* be *an* ?

IV.

IVV. 5. 9 :

tantine iniuria cenae,
tam ieiuna fames, cum possit honestius illic
et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini ?

Most editors affirm dogmatically that the subject of *possit* is *fames*. It may be, but the expression is then awkward, and we are not really compelled to understand it so. Out of *fames* we can supply a *he*, a *famelicus*, as e.g. we supply an *aemulans* out of *aemulatio* in Cic. Tusc. 4, 8. 17 *est aemulatio aegritudo, si eo quod concupuerit alius potiatur, ipse careat* (cf. 18) : or the subject may be simply indefinite, a *man*, as in the lines of Caecilius, quoted by Cicero in

de Sen. 25, *unum id sat est* (in old age, which he is apostrophizing), *quod diu uiuendo multa quae non uult uidet*. But the latter licence is, I think, a good deal commoner in Greek than in Latin. In both languages it obtains most when there is an infinitive adjoining, but Greek has many examples from which the infinitive is absent. Juvenal sometimes shows signs of Greek influence.

V.

Ivv. 8. 240 :

tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
 nominis ac tituli quantum ⁱⁿ _{non} Leucade, quantum
 Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
 caedibus adsiduis gladio.

The MSS are divided between *in* and *non*, the first of which will not scan, while the second fails to give a good sense. Hermann's *uix*, too, though often adopted, seems not very satisfactory in meaning, and the same is, I think, the case with Mr. Owen's *ui*, for that word has a propriety in the parallels he adduces (*C. R.* IX. 347) which is rather lacking here. I do not know whether *mox* has ever been suggested, a word by no means unlike *non*. I should take it in the sense, which it so often bears in Tacitus, of *afterwards*, *presently*.

VI.

QVINTIL. I. 8. 2. Boys should be made to read aloud. Sit autem in primis lectio uirilis . . . non in canticum dissoluta nec plasmate . . . effeminata, de quo genere optime C. Caesarem praetextatum adhuc accepimus dixisse *si cantas, male cantas; si legis, cantas*.

The saying, as it is given, lacks point: *cantas* can hardly have stood alone. Perhaps we should read again *male cantas*, or *cantas male*, only in a new sense. 'If you are singing, you sing badly; if you are reading, you do ill to sing.'

VII.

AVGVST. *de Civ. Dei*, V. 20: Temperantiae iubeat (uoluptas) ut tantam capiat alimentorum et si qua delectant ne per immoderationem noxium aliquid uoletudinem turbet et uoluptas . . . grauius offendatur.

Read *ut* for *et* before *si qua*.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NOTES AND EMENDATIONS IN LATIN POETS.

I.

LVCILIVS, fr. 965 (Marx) :

quaenam uox ex te resonans meo gradu remoram facit ?

Mr. Housman in the first number of the *Classical Quarterly* (p. 59) refuted and pulverized the attempt of Marx to emend this passage by writing *quoia nam*. 'Ex tecto' and 'ex aede' have been suggested; but it is obvious that if 'ex aede' is to be contemplated, emendation may go on εἰς ἄπειρον—scores of words could be found that would make sense. There is no context. If the passage is to be emended at all, I suggest that Lucilius wrote

quaenam uox EXTVOORERESONANS.

This would perplex copyists in two ways—by the repetition of letters, and, if they got it right, by seeming to violate metre :

quaenam uox ex tuo ore resonans meo gradu remoram facit ?

There is no difficulty about metre: *tūo* can be a monosyllable, and can suffer elision. Lucilius is either quoting, or parodying, a tragic poet, and the antithesis *tuo ore . . . meo gradu* is just the sort of rhetorical turn that the tragic poets affect.

II.

LVCRETIVS I. 241-243 :

tactus enim leti satis esset causa profecto,
quippe ubi nulla forent aeterno corpore quorum
contextum uis deberet dissoluere quaeque.

'A touch in sooth would be sufficient cause of death, inasmuch as any amount of force must of course undo the texture of things in which no parts at all were of an everlasting body.' So Munro, who prints :

quippe, ubi nulla forent aeterno corpore, quorum
contextum uis deberet dissoluere quaeque.

But 'quippe quorum' is obscurely related to what precedes ('leti esset causa eis, quippe quorum . . .', though 'res' have just been spoken of), and *uis quaeque* is not 'any' force, but 'each force' or 'the several forces.'

How does Lucretius proceed with his argument ?

at nunc, inter se quia nexus principiorum
dissimiles constant aeternaque materies est,
incolumi remanent res corpore, dum satis acris
uis obeat *pro textura cuiusque reperia*.

Surely this throws light on 'uis quaeque.' And, further, is it possible to separate 'quippe' from 'ubi,' as Munro does? Compare 182-3 :

quippe ubi nulla forent primordia, quae genitali
concilio possent arceri tempore iniquo.

If we are to pay regard to what Aristarchus called τὸ ἔθιμον τοῦ ποιητοῦ, both passages must be taken in the same way, i.e. 'quorum . . .,' and 'quae . . .,' must alike be relative clauses attached to 'nulla' and 'nulla primordia.' 'Quippe ubi' = 'in a world in which,' 'for, you see, it would be a world in which.' I take the passage to mean: 'A touch would suffice to cause death, in a world where there were no objects made of lasting material, objects whose texture the various forces would have to rend asunder—would be called upon, or required, to rend asunder.' In the actual universe there is a scale, we may say, of objects differing in the tenacity or coherence of their structure; and there is a scale of forces, stronger and weaker. Iron demands a strong force to rend it, wood a weaker. If there were no 'materies aeterna'—if some of the atoms of a thing could suddenly cease to exist—there would be no such fixed relation between objects and forces: 'a touch might cause dissolution.' It is sometimes a useful test of an interpretation of a Latin passage to put it into Greek. I find that, when lecturing on Lucretius some years ago, I had appended to the passage a rough version or paraphrase :

καὶ γὰρ ἀφ᾽ ἑμῆς πάντων ἂν ἐφαίνεται ὁλεθροῦ
κεῖθι γ' ὅθι στερεὴν μηδὲν φύσιν εἶχεν, ὁποῖα
δύσλυτος οὐσα βίης πληγαῖς ἀντεῖχεν ἐκάστης.

V. 43-44 :

at nisi purgatum est pectus, quae proelia nobis
atque pericula tumst ingratis insinuandum.

'But unless the breast is cleared, what battles and dangers must then find their way into us in our own despite.' Mr. Bailey takes the passage in the same way as Munro did: 'But unless the heart is cleansed, what battles and perils must then enter into us, despite our will.' So too Mr. Duff in his commentary on bk. V.

Is it natural, one might ask, to speak of *perils* entering into us? But that is a minor point. What is the construction? 'Insinuare' sometimes means 'to enter into,' sometimes 'to put into.' The former is seen in l. 73 :

et quibus ille modis diuum metus insinuarit
pectora.

But that is not the construction here: 'insinuare' must here mean 'to put into,' and 'proelia' and 'pericula' are accusatives like 'poenas' in

aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum est.

There, 'eis' is easily supplied from what precedes. 'Battles and perils must be put into us'—by whom? By the gods? But they are far off, in the *intermundia*. By ourselves? But 'we must put battles and perils into ourselves,' implying 'nobis' twice, is grammatically awkward and unreasonable in sense.

My difficulty is this: when the gerundive or gerund is used in a passage like this, must there not be some agent in view? Not necessarily expressed, but at least conceivable, somewhere within the range of mental vision? Take 'nobis' as the agent, and 'insinuandum' as 'enter into,' and the passage becomes very simple: 'What battles and dangers we must enter upon,' 'with what battles and dangers must we become intimately acquainted.'

III.

OVID, *Ars Am.* III. 439-440:

uix mihi credetis, sed credite : Troia maneret
praeceptis Priami si foret usa sui.

This passage has given a great deal of trouble, and Madvig dealt with it most unhappily. There is a variant *tuis*, and it is obvious that Cassandra, not Priam, is in question. Mr. Edwards in the Cambridge *Corpus* keeps 'Priami . . . sui,' but mentions in a footnote a suggestion of Mr. Housman's 'praeceptis, Priamis, si foret usa tuis.'

Why should not the passage be read—

Priami, praeceptis si foret usa tuis ?

Would a Roman poet hesitate for a moment about making the first syllable of *Priāmī* long, if his metre excluded the tribrach? The masculine *Priamides* frequently has its first syllable long. Compare, for the position of the word, *Fasti* V. 610:

Sidoni, sic fueras aspicienda Ioui.

Ovid has been speaking of the fop, with his carefully dressed hair (433 'sed uitate uiros cultum formamque professos'). Troy would still stand, had one such person been destroyed in infancy, had Priam and his people followed the 'praecepta' of Apollo and Cassandra:

adest, adest fax obuoluta sanguine atque incendio;
multos annos latuit. *ciues*, ferte opem et restinguite.

(Enn. *Alexander*: loquitur Cassandra).

IV.

VALERIUS FLACCUS, *Argon.* I. 380-82 :

te quoque Thessalicae, Nestor, rapit in freta puppis
fama, Mycenaeis olim qui candida uelis
aequora *nec stantes* mirabere mille magistros.

Editors usually read *et instantes*, after Eyssenhardt. 'Instant nautis,' i.e. 'instigant,' Langen explains. But is 'nec stantes' quite certainly wrong? The construction exemplified by Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελής πόλις κ.τ.λ. is not so very uncommon, though I admit that this would be rather an extreme case of it. But the rhetorical point is obvious: Nestor is now sailing in the first ship, but when he has grown old, ships will be so common that he will see all this *without* astonishment.

Ib. 788-89 :

uos, quibus imperium Iouis et non segne peractum
lucis iter . . .

Langen has no note on 'imperium Iouis': so it is perhaps worth while to point out that Valerius is here thinking of Juppiter as a ruler who makes life a time of trial and discipline for men, an idea rendered familiar by Virgil in *Georg.* I. 121 sqq.:

pater ipse colendi
haud facilem esse uiam uoluit . . .
nec torpere graui passus sua regna ueterno.

Compare *Argon.* I. 556 sqq. pateant montes silvaeque lacusque, etc. There must have been a poetic tradition, from Aeschylus onwards, about this design of Zeus. The design was modified. Claudian (*De Raptu Pros.* III. 19 sqq.) makes him say that the rigour of the discipline has been carried too far; it is to be lightened by Ceres. Valerius makes him explicitly authorize the release of Prometheus by Hercules (*Arg.* IV. 79; nunc, ait, eripiat dirae Titana uolucris).

Ib. 844-6 :

(Elysium) ubi sol totumque per annum
durat aprica dies thiasique chorique uirorum
carminaque et quorum *populis iam nulla cupido.*

Langen gives two explanations—Wagner's, which he sees to be wrong, and another of his own, which is equally impossible. Mr. Butler in his *Post-Augustan Poetry* translates, rightly, 'all the innocent joys that the peoples of the earth desire no more,' but his context precludes notes.

Valerius means that people on earth above once desired these things—in the Golden Age. They do so no more. In the Golden Age they also deserved them, Claudian, *De Raptu Pros.* II. 286-7 :

semperque tenemus
quod superi meruere semel.

W. R. HARDIE.

NOTES ON THE TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.

I.

THE *Hercules Oetaeus*, whatever be its authorship, is closely related to the other plays, and often has what seem to be reminiscences of them, not always felicitous reminiscences. Often, of course, they are reminiscences of the other *Hercules*, and may supply a clue to the text of that play. Many of them were pointed out by Leo, but there is room for further investigation.

To illustrate this, I take first a passage from the *Phaedra* recently discussed by Mr. C. E. Stuart, who produces evidence for a reading *sericus*.

Ph. 520-1 : *sericus somnus premit,*
 secura duro membra uersantur torq.

Compare *Herc. Oet.* 644 sqq.:

caespes Tyrio mollior ostro
 solet impavidos ducere somnos ;
 aurea rumpunt tecta quietem
 uigilesque trahit purpura noctes.

‘*purpura*’ is boldly said, for ‘the sleeper on purple.’ Similarly in the *Phaedra*, Seneca spoke of *sericus* (sc. *torus*), and perhaps wrote

sericus somnos tremit,
 secura duro membra uersantur toro.

The prince or courtier is afraid to fall asleep: he does not know that the assassin’s dagger is not near him: the peasant may be wakeful (*uersantur membra*), but has no anxiety.

Herc. Fur. 244-5 :

solitasque pennis condere obductis diem
 petit ab ipsis nubibus Stympthalidas.

Herc. Oet. 1236-7 :

tensus hac arcus manu
 astris ab ipsis depulit Stympthalidas ?

Leo and Richter read *detulit*, and it is no doubt effective in the context. But E has *depulit*. In the other passage, what is ‘*petere ab nubibus*’? Is it really intelligible? If ‘*petit*’ means ‘aimed his shafts at them,’ how can it go with ‘*ab nubibus*’? ‘*Depulit*’ points to ‘*pepulit*’ here, and both

passages may be due to a vague recollection of the other version of the story, according to which Hercules *drove away* the birds; but he did that with a brazen rattle or clapper, not with his bow. This version was known to Statius (*Theb.* IV, 298).

II.

Herc. Fur. 1110-1 :

et qui medius tua tela tamen
senserat aer.

Recent editors condemn these lines, but they gain some support from *Herc. Oet.* 14-15 :

omne concessit malum
quod terra genuit, pontus *aer* inferi.

The 'aer' is 'medius,' neither heaven which he had upheld, nor earth which he had traversed, nor the world below which he had visited: yet the 'aer' also (i.e. the Stymphalides flying high) felt his shafts.

The hiatus 'profundi | et qui' is not conclusive against the lines (cf. 1113-14) or the 'tria regna' of l. 1114—the 'aer' is incidentally mentioned, it is not a 'regnum' like the familiar three.

This last instance leads to another question—whether recent editors are right in their rejection of a number of lines that appear in the text. That they are sometimes right, or at all events that the ejection is an improvement, I do not deny. But in the case of *Herc. Fur.* 83 :

sublimis alias luna concipiat feras

they seem to have overlooked, what the older commentators point out, that there was a belief that *the Nemean lion* came from the moon (cf. Claudian, *De Raptu Pros.*, Preface to bk. II, l. 35, Non leo sidereos caeli *rediturus* ad axes).

III.

Herc. Fur. 154 :

hic exesis
pendens scopulis aut deceptos
instruit hamos aut suspensus
spectat pressa praemia dextra :
sentit tremulum linea piscem.

Gronovius saw that 'pressa dextra' here must mean keeping the hand steady or in control; but the whole passage does not seem to have been explained. In his tedious exile in Corsica Seneca perhaps often watched men fishing from the rocks *in clear water*. Compare *Thyestes* 592-3: From a small boat in calm weather at sea,

uacat mersos numerare pisces.

'Spectat praemia' means that he sees his prizes, the fish, biting at his bait. 'Aut deceptos instruit hamos' he is either rebaiting his baffled hooks (the

bait having been carried away) or anxiously watching his hoped-for prizes, with his right hand in control (for if he raise his rod too soon, he will miss his fish again). This interpretation is confirmed (as has been pointed out to me by one of my present pupils, Miss A. E. Stirling) by a passage in Martial, X, 30, 18, *spectatus alte lineam trahit piscis*. See also Oppian, *Halieutica*, III, 520-528.

IV.

Herc. Fur. 585-6:

tu non ante tuam respice coniugem
quam cum clara deos obtulerit dies.

The strange phrase 'deos obtulerit' becomes clearer on comparing *Thyestes* 3 (*loquitur umbra Tantalii*):

quis male deorum Tantalo uisas domos
ostendit iterum?

To emerge from under earth is to see again the sky, the home of the gods (and to see also no doubt the divine sun and moon). So 'deos' is like 'caelum' and 'sidera' in many passages, the sight of the sky (or life or presence in the world above, Stat. *Silvae* I, iv, 3: Claudian, *De Raptu Pros.*, II, 262).

V.

Oed. 712 f.:

Castalium nemus
umbram Sidonio praebuit hospiti
lauitque Dirce Tyrios colonos,
ut primum magni natus Agenoris
fessus per orbem furta sequi Iouis
sub nostra pauidus constitit arbore
praedonem uenerans suum
monituque Phoebi etc.

Mr. Stuart discusses this passage in the January number of the *Quarterly*, quoting translators who seem to put the 'Castalium nemus' at Thebes, and apparently accepting this idea. But the Castalian grove must be at Delphi. Apollodorus, III, 4, 1, 1, Κάδμος ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης πυνθανόμενος. The 'arbore' of l. 717 must be at Delphi too, for 'monituque Phoebi iussus erranti comes ire uaccae' comes after it. If 'nostra' is right, the Chorus are speaking as Greeks, 'under a Greek (not Boeotian) tree,' which is perhaps natural enough when Cadmus is a Phoenician.

The sense then will be that Dirce bathed Tyrian settlers, Phoenicians settled at Thebes, as soon as Cadmus had gone to the one oracle where Jove's will could most certainly be learned—Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός. Line 723, 'deseruit fugas,' he abandoned his wanderings in search of Europe.

VI.

Mr. Stuart's notes are generally lucid and convincing, but about one other passage I have a doubt:

Med. 35:

gemino Corinthos litori opponens moras
cremata flammis maria committat duo.

'“Opponens moras” without object is very awkward.' Is not 'maribus duobus' quite easily supplied? 'Litus' is not naturally thought of as a thing that moves or encroaches, though no doubt it is the fact that in various parts of the earth coastlines are slowly shifting. I therefore incline to accept 'litore.'

VII.

Phaedra 224:

Solus negatas inuenit Theseus uias.

Mr. Stuart rightly sees here an allusion to the labyrinth. Further, it is an example of the rhetorical turn amply illustrated by Leo, vol. I. pp. 149-152, by which what has happened once is treated as habitual:

Phaedra 92:

praestatque nuptae quam *solet* Theseus fidem

where the allusion is to Ariadne;

dant fata Danaïs *quo solent pretio* uiam

where only the death of Iphigenia is meant.

W. R. HARDIE.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS VIII 7, EXT. 3.

CAROLVS PRAECHTER, uir clarissimus, optime exposuit quo modo rumores et fabulae de Platonis itineribus gradatim orerentur, augerentur, firmarentur.¹ Inter scriptores, qui nobis tales narrationes tradiderunt, est Valerius Maximus, qui iter Aegyptiacum et Italicum his uerbis narrat: (III 7, Ext. 3.)

<Quoque tempore a studiosis iuuenibus certatim
Athenae Platonem doctorem quaerentibus petebantur, ipse Nili
fluminis inexplicabiles ripas uastissimosque campos,
†effusam barbariam et flexuosos fossarum ambitus
Aegyptiorum senum discipulus lustrabat.>

Madvigius perspexit uerba *effusam barbariam* (sic L; A habet *barbariam*) esse corrupta, proposuit *Mareotidem*, quod mutationis lenitate uix dicere audebis commendari; similis ueri est, quod per litteras Gertz communicauit Kempfio: *et fusam Maream*; siue, quod Kempf coniecit: *et effusam Mariam*. Optime tamen, ni fallor, hoc modo uerba tradita emendare possumus:

effusam Barbariam.
effusam per Mariam.

THS. OTTO ACHELIS.

BREMAE.

¹ Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1902, pp. 995 sqq.

THE ETRUSCANS AND THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION OF 414-413 B.C.

IT has usually been held, on the strength of several passages in Thucydides,¹ that the Athenian army which was besieging Syracuse in 414-413 B.C. contained a contingent of Etruscans desirous of retaliating upon the Syracusans for losses inflicted upon them in past days—e.g., in 474 at Cumae and in 453 at Elba.

This view, however, has been rejected by no less an authority than Ed. Meyer,² who would identify the Italian allies of Athens with a body of Campanian mercenaries whom Diodorus³ mentions as having been hired for the war against Syracuse, and suggests that Thucydides simply substituted for 'Campanians' the more familiar name of 'Tyrrhenians.'

A further investigation of this point may serve to show that Meyer's view is supported by substantial evidence.

1. Greek writers of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. undoubtedly made *Τυρρηνία* stand for a very large district of Italy, and to Campania in particular they frequently applied this name. Sophocles⁴ calls Lake Avernus 'Tyrrhenian.' Euripides⁵ prolongs 'Tyrrhenia' to the Straits of Messina. In Philistus⁶ the Campanian town of Nuceria is assigned to 'Tyrrhenia.' Stephanus of Byzantium, whose information is presumably drawn from authors not far distant from Thucydides in date, finds room for Puteoli, Surrentum, and Brettus (a Bruttian township) in 'Tyrrhenia.'⁷

Lastly, the expressions *Τυρσηνικὸς κόλπος*, *πόντος*, and *Τυρσηνικὸν πέλαγος*, as applied by Thucydides himself⁸ to the waters bordering upon Sicily, point to a similar conception of the confines of Etruscan territory.

Accordingly, when Thucydides relates that the Athenians sent for help to 'Tyrrhenia,' it cannot be denied that he may be referring to Campania, and the 'Tyrrheni' whom he mentions may have been natives of that district.

¹ Thuc. VI. 88, 103; VII. 53, 57.

² *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV. p. 519.

³ Diod. XIII. 44: Καρχηδόνιοι ἀπέστειλαν τῶν Καμπάνων ὀκτακοσίους. οἳ τοὶ δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλκιδέων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς τὸν πρὸς Συρακοσίους πόλεμον μεμισθωμένοι.

⁴ Bekker, *Anecdota*. I. pp. 413-414: "Αἰῶνος ἡ Τυρσηνία λίμνη.

⁵ *Medea*, 1342-3: τῆς Τυρσηνίδος Σκύλλης. Ib. 1359: Σκύλλαν ἡ Τυρσηνὸν ᾤκησεν πέδον (ed. Gilbert Murray).

⁶ Fr. 41 (ed. C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 1): Νουκρία πόλις Τυρσηνίας.

⁷ Ed. Westermann, p. 236: Ποτόλοιοι πόλις Τυρρηνίας; p. 264: Συρρέντιον, πόλις Τυρρηνίας; p. 83 Βρέττος πόλις Τυρρηνῶν. The last of these passages is attributed by C. Müller to Antiochus (*op. cit.*, fr. 5). The affiliation is not proved, but it is certain that Stephanus quoted both from this author and from Hecataeus, Ephorus, and Philistus in dealing with Italian names.

⁸ Thuc. VI. 62, VII. 58, IV. 24.

2. The general history of the Etruscans at the time of the Sicilian expedition shows that they were in no position to expend their energy in reviving an obsolete grudge against the Syracusans. At the end of the fifth century the northern section of the nation was being driven hard by the Gauls in Upper Italy, and was losing ground to the Romans along the Tiber. The Etruscans of Campania were simultaneously being swamped by an immigration of Sabellian tribes from the Apennines, and had recently been exterminated out of Capua, their chief stronghold.¹ It appears most unlikely that a people which could not even hold its home country should have wasted its strength on oversea expeditions in the interests of a third party.

On the other hand, one may hesitate to assume that Thucydides knew nothing of the Sabellian nations of the Italian hinterland. It is certain that Philistus was not, as Meyer suggests, the first Greek writer to recognize the Italian stocks which competed with the Etruscans for the possession of Campania. Hecataeus mentions a settlement of Ausones at Nola.² Antiochus, who is generally regarded as Thucydides' authority for the general history of the West, clearly distinguishes between the Etruscans and the native stocks, whom he correctly describes as Oscans.³ Thucydides himself in one passage proves that he was acquainted with the Oscan element of population in Campania.⁴

The easiest way out of the difficulty would be to suppose that the Etruscans of Thucydides and the Campanians of Diodorus were two different forces, hailing, perhaps, from the same district, but under separate commands. But Thucydides does not mention the Campanians in a list of Athens' Italian allies which purports to be exhaustive,⁵ and in view of the size of their contingent this omission would be worse than a confusion of Campanians and Etruscans.

Perhaps the best solution is to mediate between the traditional view and that of Meyer by supposing that both Etruscans and Campanians took part at the siege of Syracuse in a combined force, of which the Campanians provided the rank and file, while the Etruscans supplied the leaders.

This hypothesis accords well with the composite character of Etruscan armies in general,⁶ and especially those of Campania, where the Etruscans still maintained themselves at isolated points until the third century B.C.,⁷ but were compelled to admit into their cities increasing quantities of Sabellian immigrants.⁸

Furthermore, the participation of the Etruscans in the Sicilian Expedition presents fewer difficulties if their contingent was only a skeleton corps, supplemented by Campanians. The Etruscans, though numerous enough to

¹ Livy IV. 37. The date given by the author is 424 B.C.

² Ed. C. Müller, fr. 28: Νῶλα πόλις Αὔσονων.

³ Strabo V. p. 242: 'Αντιόχος μὲν οὖν φησὶ τὴν χώραν ταύτην (sc. Καμπανίαν) Ὀπικοὺς οἰκῆσαι, τοὺτους δὲ καὶ Αὔσοντας καλεῖσθαι.

⁴ VI. 4: ἀπὸ Κόμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ.

⁵ VII. 57.

⁶ Körte in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI. p. 754.

⁷ Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 9-10.

⁸ Livy IV. 37.

give their name to the whole force, were too few to reduce perceptibly the fighting strength of their own nation in Campania. Indeed, by drafting large numbers of Campanians into their expeditionary army, they diverted the energies of their restless neighbours into a suitable channel, and correspondingly diminished the pressure of the Sabellian stocks upon their own nation.

Lastly, this explanation, while upholding the authority of Diodorus, restores the shaken credit of Thucydides. Diodorus could well represent the brigade as a Campanian one, for, regarded from the standpoint of numbers, it was essentially Campanian. And, again, Thucydides was sufficiently justified in calling it Etruscan, for the Athenian officers no doubt had no direct intercourse with the troopers, but only knew the force through its Etruscan officers. If a modern historian can fairly describe the Hanoverians and Hessians who fought at the Brandywine or at Waterloo as an English force, Thucydides might well be allowed to call the composite Etrusco-Campanian army Etruscan for short. Certainly this would be no more misleading than others of his brachylogies.

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ON THE ROGATIO LIVIA DE LATINIS.

WAS the above-named bill, which was brought forward in 122 B.C. by the tribune M. Liuius Drusus, and provided that the Latins should under all circumstances be exempt from the penalty of scourging,¹ duly passed by the Roman Assembly and entered upon the statute-book?

This question has not yet received any conclusive answer in histories of Rome. Ihne² and Peter³ refrain altogether from discussing it; Mommsen,⁴ Greenidge,⁵ and Heitland⁶ assert or imply that Drusus' measure was made law, but do not argue the point; Lange,⁷ Zumpt,⁸ and Long⁹ take the opposite view, and adduce some evidence in its favour, but can hardly be said to establish their case beyond dispute.

¹ Plut., *C. Gracchus*, ch. 9: ὅπως μὴδὲ ἐπὶ στρατείαις ἐξῆν τινα Λατίνων βάβδους αἰκισσάσθαι.

² *History of Rome* (Engl. Transl.), IV. p. 473.

³ *Geschichte Roms* (ed. 1870), II. p. 39.

⁴ *History of Rome* (Engl. Transl., ed. 1894), p. 365.

⁵ *History of Rome*, p. 243.

⁶ *The Roman Republic*, II. 310.

⁷ *Römische Altertümer*, III. p. 44.

⁸ *Das Kriminalrecht der römischen Republik*, bk. II. p. 77.

⁹ *The Decline of the Roman Republic*, I. p. 276.

A further investigation of this problem may serve to bring it nearer to a definite solution.

1. The Rogatio de Latinis formed part of a batch of proposals, of which one at least was almost certainly sanctioned by popular vote. When Liuius Drusus the Younger brought forward his project for the establishment of new colonies, he represented it as a scheme *already confirmed by the people*, and merely waiting to be carried into effect.¹ The reference can hardly be to any other measure than the elder Drusus' colonial law, which was promulgated on the same occasion as the proposal concerning the Latins. The enactment of the former thus affords presumptive evidence for the simultaneous ratification of the latter.

2. The fact that Drusus' measures were not intended as a serious project of reform, but were merely a device for outbidding Gracchus in popular favour, does not warrant the conclusion that they never got beyond their first reading. However unversed in high politics the voters in the comitia may have been, they must be credited with a knowledge of the difference between giving notice of a motion and putting it to the vote. Moreover, Drusus proclaimed his intention of moving popular reforms, not once, but frequently.² Hence to drop a scheme of legislation to which he was committed by repeated pledges would have been a suicidal policy on his part: such barefaced fraudulence, instead of luring the people into the confidence of the Senate, would have confirmed them in their mistrust of the nobility and their allegiance to Gracchus.

Nor yet can it be supposed that the bill was rendered abortive by Gracchus' veto.³ His enemies had selected their issue so carefully as to preclude his using this weapon, for by interfering with such specious benefactions as Drusus was offering to the discontented classes Gracchus would have compassed all the more directly his estrangement from his former clients. In the absence of documentary evidence in favour of this view, of which there is none, it cannot be admitted as a valid explanation.

On general considerations it is therefore preferable to assume that the Rogatio de Latinis, like the rest of Drusus' measures, was enacted as well as projected.

3. There are two ancient texts which may be brought to bear upon the problem.

(a) Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, ch. 69, § 4: 'Turpilius iussus a Metello causam dicere postquam parum sese expurgat, condemnatus uerberatusque capite poenas soluit; *nam is ciuis e Latio erat.*'

The accepted rendering⁴ of the italicized clause in this passage is 'Turpilius was a Latin.' This would clearly prove Drusus' measure to have been in abeyance in 108 B.C., and accordingly these words of Sallust have

¹ Appian, B.C. I. 35, § 156.

² Plut., *C. Gracchus*, ch. 9; ὁ Λιβύιος ἀεὶ δημῶν γορῶν.

³ Lange, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Edd. Jacobs (1857), Capes (1866), Hinzpeter (1867), Guibert (1892), Opitz (1897).

been quoted in disproof of the Rogatio de Latinis having been carried.¹ But the above interpretation breaks down on several grounds :

- (i.) Appian² calls Turpilius a Roman.
- (ii.) The expression 'ciuis e Latio' as equivalent to 'Latinus' is not Latin.³ It is not even sense, for it contains a contradiction in terms. 'Ciuis' in legal parlance invariably implies *Roman* citizenship, and Roman franchise was incompatible with 'ius Latinum.' Either Turpilius was a 'ciuis' or he was a 'Latinus': he could not have been both at the same time.
- (iii.) The meaning of the traditional version does not suit the context. The fact of Turpilius being a Roman would explain nothing, for granted that Latins were liable to be scourged, so also were Romans while on military service.⁴

The only translation consistent with Latin idiom and coherence of thought on Sallust's part is as follows: 'Turpilius had acquired Roman citizenship in exchange for Latin rights.' The use of *ex* = 'in exchange for' is well established, and the abbreviation of 'ius Latii' into 'Latium' is not without parallel.⁵ On this showing, the Lex Liuii was in force at the time of the Jugurthine War, for if Turpilius had remained a Latin he would not have been scourged.

(b) Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, V. 11. 2: 'Marcellus foede in Comensi. Etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus.' The reference here is to a scourging inflicted in 51 B.C. by the consul M. Claudius Marcellus upon a burgess of Nouum Comum.

The relevance of this incident may be disputed by those who regard the victim of the outrage as a Roman citizen.⁶ But it is certain that Cicero considered him a Latin. The word 'Transpadanus' is synonymous with 'Latinus,' for in Cicero's days the characteristic feature of the Transpadanes' status lay in their possession of Latin rights and their exclusion from the

¹ Zumpt and Long, *loc. cit.*

² *De Rebus Numidicis*, ch. 2: Τουρπιλιον ανδρα Ρωμαιον.

³ The only known instance of this collocation is in the *Lex Malacitana*, ch. 53. But a document drawn up in a provincial town, at an age when the historic distinction between Romans and Latins was fast becoming blurred, can hardly be quoted as evidence of ordinary Latin usage.

⁴ Zumpt (*op. cit.*, pp. 66-67) admits that there is no evidence in favour of the theory that Roman soldiers were ever exempted from liability to scourging. The coin of Porcius Lacca (Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, no. 36, p. 68) cannot be adduced as testimony, for the appellant there portrayed is ostentatiously clad in a toga—i.e. he is not a soldier.

⁵ Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, III. §§ 7, 30, 135; Tacitus, *Histories*, III. 55.

⁶ Thus Mommsen, *History of Rome*, V. 132,

179. This theory has the countenance of Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 28, § 3, Strabo, p. 213, and Plutarch, *Iulius Caesar*, 29, who assert or imply that Nouum Comum was a colony with full rights of Roman franchise. Appian III. 26 allows that Caesar's colony had only Latin rights, but states that Marcellus' victim was an ex-magistrate, and therefore a Roman. But it is grossly improbable that Marcellus should have ventured to scourge a Roman citizen in Rome. Such a violation of the well-established Laws of Appeal would have greatly damaged the party of constitutional purists with which Marcellus was making common cause, and the memory of Cicero's punishment for his far more excusable action in executing the accomplices of Catiline should certainly have had a deterrent effect upon Marcellus. It would seem that later tradition improved upon the details of the story by way of making it more sensational.

Roman franchise which all other Italians then possessed; and the distinction between the status of ex-magistrates and others is only relevant in the case of a man of Latin birth.

Granted, therefore, that Cicero argued the case as if the scourging had been inflicted on a Latin, what conclusions can be drawn from this passage regarding the legal validity of Drusus' measures? Clearly not those indicated by Zumpt,¹ who assumes that Marcellus was acting within his rights, and accordingly infers that Drusus' scheme for the protection of the Latins had not become law. This hypothesis ignores the positively indignant tone of Cicero's comment. The epithet 'infamous' is far too strong to have been applied to a mere mistake in policy, as though Cicero's criticism were only levelled at Marcellus' hastiness in provoking Caesar, and made no reflection upon the validity of his dealing. The violence of Cicero's denunciation requires for its explanation nothing short of a positive infringement of the law—a kind of offence which often called forth unmeasured denunciation from this author. Now, the only known law which Marcellus could have set at naught by scourging a Latin is the *Lex Liwia* of 122 B.C. Hence it may be inferred from Cicero's text that Drusus' bill had been duly enacted.

It will thus be seen that all the available evidence is in favour of the *Rogatio Liwia de Latinis* having become law.

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¹ Zumpt, bk. II. p. 77.

GREEK ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΥΣ.

IN analyzing *βασι-λεύς* for composition I start in the most obvious way with *βασι-* (from *gwm-ti-*) in the sense of 'gang' (1° 'uia'; 2° 'caterua'), while *-λεύς* must be a root-noun from **lěw-s*, and is perhaps immediately cognate with Skr. *lu-nāti* 'caedit.'¹ This analysis makes *βασι-λεύς* mean something like 'uiam-muniens,' i.e. a sort of 'ponti-fex.' I think more particularly of the sacrificial leader, the Ἄρχων *βασι-λεύς*, the *Rex Sacrificulus*, who, while he may have been concerned with the making of ways on earth, also made paths for man to the gods. But this aside, he who 'blazed the trail,' who 'loosed' or 'solved' (the problem of) the 'ways,' was 'explorer, guide, leader,' i.e. '*dux*.'

But suppose that *βασι-* here means 'caterua,' then *-λεύς* should mean 'leader.' Can we justify a root *lěw-* 'ducere'? A root *lěy-* 'ire,' expanded by a determinant *-t-* and with the factitive sense of 'ducere,'² is found in Eng. *leads* 'ducit,' Germ. *leiten*; and by the same token Cretic ἐ-λεύ-θω (in ἐπηλεύσαν 'tulerunt') 'fero' may be derived from a root *lěw-dh-*, with determinant *-dh-* and a factitive sense (as compared with ἐλεύσομαι 'ueniam') that has passed from 'ducere' to 'ferre,' though the sense of 'ducere' is approximately valid for the Gortynian laws, where the object is a living creature, a 'child.' Still, had the sense passed from 'ducere aliquem' to 'ducere aliquam rem,' an original sense of 'ducere' is allowable, cf. ἄγει 'leads,' but also 'brings, fetches.' That in *lěw-dh-* *dh* is a determinant may be felt the more because of Homeric νεήλυδες 'aduenae,' with determinant *d*.

The parallelism of *lěy-t-* and *lěw-dh-* in the sense of 'ire; ducere' is perhaps attested in the ἐλεύθερος-sept, if ἐλεύθερος means 'moving,' or rather 'solutus,' as opposed to 'uinctus,' cf. ἐλεύθερον ἡμαρ in Homer = λύσεως ἡμέρα. The Greek lexicographers seem to have interpreted ἐλεύθερος of the freedom of motion (cf. ap. Prellwitz, s.v.). Phonetically it seems impossible (see further below) to derive Lat. *liber* from *lew-dh-*, but I derive it from *lěy-dh-*, as

¹ The root *lěw-* 'caedere' is not different, *pace* Walde, *Wtb.* s.v. *lwo*, from the root set down for Lith. *lidutis* 'aufhören.' Any Englishman knows the use of *cuts* for 'forsakes, abandons, leaves.' Examples of this semantic change, and on to 'ceases,' in *AJP.* 26, 396; 405.

² Cf. Germ. *zieht*, intrans. = 'mouetur, it'; but trans. = 'ducit.' With a somewhat different turn of the factitive sense, the Sanskrit root *r* as set down by Whitney means 'go; send.' The German *führen* is a factitive to Eng. *fares*; also cf. Germ. *senden* (cf. Kluge, *Wtb.*).

German *ledig* from *lēy-t-*, and define all three of the words, *ἐλεύθερος*, *līber* and *ledig*, by 'solutus.' For a pair of parallel roots *lēw-* and *lēy-* defined by 'nachlassen' see Walde s.vv. *lassus*, *lenis*, *luo*, but the original sense was 'to cut loose from,' i.e. 'caedere' (see in general Fay, AJP. 26, 172), cf. *λύει* 'looses.' But the sense of 'going,' the notion of freedom of motion, cannot be excluded from the development of this group, for the sense of 'ire' arises too often with verbs meaning 'caedere' to be called in question (see examples in AJP. 26, 198).

The feminine form *βασίλῃς* may also be explained as a compound, *-λιδ-* being from a root with *-d-*, *lēy-d-*, while *βασί-λίσσα* exhibits a *posterius* possibly from *-lit-yā*: *lēy-t-* 'leiten.'

But let us look further now to justify the assumption that the root *lēw-* 'τέμνειν' is found extended in Greek *ἐ-λευ-θ-*¹ in the sense of 'ire; ducere'; and that in *βασί-λεύς* the unextended root-noun means 'dux.' This group of meanings seems also attested for a root *rū-* (weak stage), represented in Lat. *ru-trum* 'digging tool' (cf. *τέμνων γῆν*) under conditions in which **lutrum* might have originated proethnically by dissimilation. Further cf. Latin *ruit* 'properat' (verb of motion): *ὀ-ρού-ει* (same meaning), Av. *aurvant-* 'celer.' With the original sense of 'digs,' *ὀρύσσει*, cf. *λήιον* 'seges' with *λ.*²

The sense of 'ducere' is found in Homeric *ἐ-ρύ-ειν*, with half as many and quite as cogent cases against digamma (*F-*) as for it (see Monro, *Homeric Gram.*,² p. 362). I interpret the cases with *F-* as due to composition with the preposition **σF-*: Lith. *su* (cf. *σύ-ν*) 'cum.' Thus there are two stems to reckon with, *eru-(s)-* and *sw-eru-(s)-*, 'ducere' and 'conducere.' From the preposition *sw* we may explain, as I am doing in another connection, not a few cases of 'roots' with 'movable' *s-* and *w-*. Thus the middle form *ἔρυ-σθαι* 'seruare' may be a specialization of (*σF-*) *ερύ-ειν* 'ducere' ('retten' from 'mit-ziehen'). It curiously happens that if we write (*sw-*) *erw-*, as the 'root' appears before vowels, we can connect *seruare* with *ἔρυ-σθαι* and, if we assume dissimilative loss now of the first and now of the second *w*, *ὀράειν*, rough breathing included, is connectible with (*ob-*) *seruare*, and *οὔρος* (for **οὔρος*) 'Hüter' with Av. *haurvaiti* 'hat acht, schützt'; cf. Av. *haraiti* = *haurvaiti* directly with Homeric *ὄρονται* 'custodiunt.' Thus the root *wer-* in Eng. *war-den* is a legitimate reduction of (*s*)*w-er(w)-* 'mitziehen; retten' = *seruare*; 'custodire.' For the sense of *ὀράειν* 'obseruare' (: *seruare*) cf. Eng. *beholds*: *holds*, O.Eng. *cēpan* 'to observe, notice, attend, keep' (= *seruare*).

I would now challenge the correctness of the phonetic process imagined by Brugmann (*Gr.* I² §102) to exhibit, *exempli gratia*, how the *ī* of *līber* arose, viz: [*leub*], [*loüb-*], [*leiβ-*], *līb*. This phonetic privilege, first imagined by

¹ Cf. Homeric *ἐ-λύσθη* 'caesus est; cecidit,' *ἐλυσθεις* 'caesus; cāsus' (see on *caedit*: *cadit*, Fay, AJP. 26, 397).

² Offence need not be taken because of the lack of differentiation of the kinds of cutting, cf.

our daily use of *chops* = 'splits, cuts, breaks,' but in *chops cotton* = 'hoes'; and note the wide fission of meaning in French *couper*, which started with the sense of 'a buffet.'

Parodi (ap. Brugmann, l.c.) is supported by the following instances wherein *ǣ* fluctuates with *ǣ̃* when preceded by a labial (including *l*), if also followed by one.

(a) *lǣbet* | *lǣ̃bet*. For me, this fluctuation is due to the production of *ǣ̃* from *u* in the syllable after the accent, e.g., in *pér-lǣbet*, *quám-libet*, etc.; cf. *bīgāe* from *bi-yigāe*, *bi-yugāe* (*bi-ǣgāe*, *bi-ǣugāe*); *inclutus* | *inclitus*.

(b) *fīmus*. For the originality of *i* see Walde, s.v. Or is *fīmus* a Roman syllable inversion for dialectic **mifos*: Skr. *mīdha-m* 'stercus,' cf. *mih-* 'dunst'? This sept shows alternation of *ǣh* with *gh*, cf. *meghā-s* 'cloud' whence derived the senses of 'dark; to sleep' (pace Uhlenbeck, s.v. *meghā-s*). In this shift of *m-f* to *f-m* *fūmus* 'smoke' would have played a part.

(c) *līber* 'bark': *delubrum* 'dicebant fustem delibratum, hoc est decortiatum, quem uenerabantur pro deo' (Paulus-Festus, p. 51 de P.). This is an explanation of *delūbrum*, and the redactors of the *Thesaurus* very properly do not enter the word *delūbrum*, but cite this passage under *dēlūbrum*. If there is a basis of fact for the excerpt of Paulus the fact is that a *delubrum* was originally a *βρέτας*, a deus ligneus, a totem,¹ and it may be that *dēlūbrum* first meant 'statua' and afterwards 'statuae locus.' Then it is from *dē-lū-dhro-m* 'de-sectum.' But *līber* of the 'bast' or 'inner bark' is from *lī-dhro-s*, and meant, or may have meant, 'sich anschmiegend,' thus belonging with the *λίον*-sept. I once compared Germ. *leder* with *līber* (AJP. 26, 191), but this is only possible if *lē(y)-* 'caedere' had a reduced grade *le-*. Perhaps *leder* is from *le[p]-tro-*: *λοπός* 'peel' (of an onion), but in *λοπός δέρματος* of split leather.

(d) *clipeus* | *clupeus*. With Froehde I regard *clipeus* as cognate with O.Norse *hlif* 'shield.' Liuius Andronicus the schoolmaster may be responsible for the spelling *clupeus*, having in mind passages like *σάκος εὐρὺ καλύψας* (P 132), *πρόσθεν δὲ σάκος στέρνοιο καλύψας* (X 313). We must not forget to hunt for the trail of the Greek schoolmaster in even the earliest variants of Latin orthography. The form *calīptra* for *καλύπτρα* represents in transcription the fashion that pronounced *cignus* (cf. Ital. *cecero*, ap. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 36) for *cygnus*.

(e) *lūmpa* | *limpa*. The spelling with *i* cannot be dissociated from *limpidus* and ultimately *liquidus*.

After having passed in review all the alleged cases for the production of *i* from *u* in the syllables *līb-*, (c)*líp-*, *fīm-*, *lūmp-* I do not find a single probable case of the phonetic change inferred by Parodi and Brugmann, and I cannot believe that *līber* derives from *lewdhero-*, but rather conclude that it is from the root *lēy-dh-*. In view of O.Lat. *loebertatem* (*loebesum*) we must write an *o*-grade start-form *loydhero-* (*loydhes-*). I interpret the name of the wine god *Līber* (Sabine *Lebasius*) as 'releaser,' cf. his Greek name of *Λυαῖος*. The

¹ In the exhibit of totem poles from Alaska at the Columbian Exposition in St. Louis I was greatly struck by the resemblance of the head on

the top of one of these poles, some thirty feet in height, to the type of the Jupiter of Otricoli.

Sabine form *Lebasius* (Seruius), if not a bad reading for *Lefasius*, presents a Latinized *b* for *f*, unless in the absence of evidence to the contrary we conclude that in the Sabine dialect interior *-f-* (from *-dh-*) yielded *-b-*.

To return at the end to βασι-λεύς, perhaps the root-noun *-lēws* originally meant 'looser, releaser' (cf. λυτήρ 'deliverer; arbitrator'), and thus βασι-λεύς = 'cateruam- (secedentem-) resoluens.' This definition brings -λεύς very close to λύει in meaning.

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THE LATIN IMPERATIVE IN *-MINO*.

IN Plautus and elsewhere in old Latin there is an imperative suffix *-mino* of medio-deponential meaning: *opperimino*,¹ Pl. *Truc.* 188 (Ambr.), *progredimino*, id. *Pseud.* 859, *arbitramino*, id. *Epid.* 695, *praefamino*, Cato, *RR.* 141, 2, *famino* Paul. Fest. 62, 10, Th., all 2 sg.²; in legal documents, *antestamino* (*si in ius uocat, ni it, antestamino, igitur em capito*), in the XII Tables, *fruimino* (*is eum agrum habeto niue fruimino*), *CIL.* 1, 199, *profitemino* in *Lex Iulia Municipalis*, all 3 sg.³ The generally accepted explanation of the form is that it arose from a contamination of the ordinary 2 pl. medio-passive imperative in *-minī* and the 2, 3 sg. forms in *-tō*, Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 517, Von Planta, *Gramm. d. oskisch-umbr. Dial.* II, pp. 310 sqq., Buck, *Elementarb. d. oskisch-umbr. Dial.* p. 112, Sommer, *Hdb. d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, p. 366, Stolz, *Lat. Gramm.*³ p. 158.⁴ The Oscan and the Umbrian forms in *-mo*, *-mu*, U. *spahamu*, *eturstahmu*, *persnimu*, O. *censamur*, all of 2 or 3 sg., and U. *arsmahamo*, *caterahamo* of 2 or 3 pl., are identified with the Lat. *-minō* forms on the assumption that the Osk-Umbr. *-mu* represents an older **-mnō* which in turn arose by syncope from **-menō*,⁵ Von Planta, *l.c.* This explanation is the most satisfactory that has been given, and we may suppose that Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian had an imperative form in **-menō*.

How to account for this common Italic form is still a difficult problem. The generally accepted theory, which has been mentioned above, is improbable in the extreme. In the first place the *-mino* forms, whether in Latin or in the other dialects, are not confined to the 2 pl., while the Latin *-minī* is used only here. Why Latin should have restricted this form to the 2 pl. is not quite clear, unless it did so as a consequence of the use of an apparently identical form in the 2 pl. pres. ind. after both suffixes had become **-menei*. At any rate, there is no trace of *-minī* in Latin in any other person than 2 pl.; and this alone would make it extremely hazardous to treat *-mino* as a development of it. But there is another, and even graver, objection to this theory. If the **-menō* imperative forms have come from *-minī* (<**-menaī*) + **-tō*

¹ So Apuleius *Metam.* 1, 22.

² Unless in Paul. Fest. '*famino*' *dicito* is 3 sg.

³ We may add *legitor uel legimino*, Diom. 1, 356, 27, *denuntiamino* in the Acts of the Arval Brethren.

⁴ See also Giles, *Manual*², p. 468.

⁵ The theory that Osk-Umbr. *-mu*, *-mo* is a participial form corresponding to Lith. *-ma-s*, like the explanation of Lat. imper. *-minī* as equivalent to Gk. *-μενοι*, has to account for the use of a participle as an imperative.

($\leftarrow *t\ddot{o}d$), they must have done so either in the common Italic period, and then Lat. *-minō*, Osk-Umbr. *-mu -mo* are independent developments of a common original; or the contamination must have taken place independently in the different dialects, and this is scarcely probable; or the forms spread from one dialect to the others. To either of the first two alternatives there is the fatal objection that there is no trace in Oscan or Umbrian of a 2 pl. imperat. in **-minī*, **-munī* or **-mī*; and it is impossible to assume that such forms once existed, but were entirely superseded by the later forms in **-menō* $\rightarrow$ *-mu, -mo*. The third alternative, too, is not very inviting. The borrowing, if borrowing there was, must have been on the part of Oscan and Umbrian, for only in Latin, where both *-minī* and *-mino* actually exist, could *-mino* have originated in the way supposed. Now, so far as we can judge, the *-mino* imperative forms must have been comparatively rare in Latin, while in Oscan and Umbrian the *-mu -mo* forms are common. We must therefore hesitate to assume that a rare Latin form could have been borrowed and become a common form in *two geographically distinct and independent dialects*. Other objections to making *-mino -mu -mo* an offshoot of *-mini* might be made, but what has been said will be sufficient to suggest that another explanation of the forms must be sought.

The old theory was right in so far as the *-mino* imperatives were supposed to have some connexion with the *-tō* imperatives. Apart from the form, the sense in both cases is identical, the command referring to what must be done after something else has happened. Thus *si quo hic gradietur pariter progredimino*, Pl. *Truc.* 859, *facto opere arbitramino*, id. *Epid.* 695 agree with the legal use *ni it antestamino*; and in *CIL.* 1, 199, *is eum agrum habeto niue fruimino* the *-to* and *-mino* forms are used side by side. The same use is certain for Umbrian: *pune menes akeṛuniamem enumeḱ eturstamu*, 'cum uenies A. tunc exterminato,' *tab. Ig.*, I g. 17, *ape angla combifansiust perca arsmatia anouihṭmu*, 'cum oscines nuntiauerit . . . induimino' *ib.* VI b. 49, etc., and in the one Oscan ex. *pis ceus bantins fust censamur*, 'qui ciuis Bantinus erit censor,' *TB* 19, the shade of meaning required is the same. In the Latin the Oscan and the Umbrian imperative forms in *-tō -tu* used in this sense the 'future' character of the imperative is indicated by the addition of the abl. of a demonstrative pronoun to the verb-stem, e.g. in *cum de bello Romano cogitabis inter primos amicos Hannibalem habeto*, Liv. XXXIX, 19, 6, 'as soon as you begin to think . . . from that point you must consider . . .' So in Sanskrit *tād* is employed in a somewhat similar connexion, e.g. *yād vīrūpācaram mārtyeshu . . . ghytāsya stokām sakṛd āhna āṣṇām tād evédām tatṛpāṇā carāmi*, *RV.* X, 95, 16, and so the compound *tādītā, yād indrāhan prathamajām āhīnām . . . tādītā śātrūṇ nā kīlā vivitse*, *ib.* I, 32, 4, 'When, Indra, you slew the first-born of serpents . . . from that time forth you have found not one enemy.' Here we have the use of *tād* which must have preceded the compound imperative forms, Skt. *-tād*, Lat. *-tō*, Gk. *-τω*. It is evident that in view of the use of the Italic imperative in *-mino, -mu*, we shall be justified in supposing that here

too we have a similar fusion of a stem with a demonstrative form marking the stage at which the action is to begin. The necessary demonstrative we have in Skt. *āḍ* the abl. sg. of the stem of *asya*, -*ās*,¹ used chiefly in the apodosis of compound sentences. One appropriate example occurs *RV.* I, 82, 1, *yadā naḥ sūnṛtāvataḥ kṛṇa āḍ arthāyāsa id*, 'now that you have made us rich in song, therefore, (after that), allow our prayer,' where *āḍ* is actually employed with the imperatively used subjunctive. Numerous other examples can be found in Grassmann, *Wtb. zum Rig-Veda*, p. 174. We have here a demonstrative particle *-*ōd* which evidently could be used in the same sense as *-*tōd* to mark the point at which the action of the verb was to commence.²

The origin of the Italic imperative ending *-*menō* is now obvious. The use of a case of a nominal stem, a so-called infinitive, as imperative is seen in Latin in the ordinary medio-passive 2 pl. ending -*minī*, the dat. of a -*men* stem, thus *faminī*, so far as the formative and case elements go, is identical with a Gk. *φάμεναι*. To the Gk. *φάμεν* would correspond Lat. **famen*, the loc. sg. of a stem like *regimen* < **rege-men*, *sūmen* < **sūg-men*, *agmen* < **ag(e)-men*,³ which, with the addition of *-*ōd*, would give the -*famino* (< **famenōd*) of Cato, and, by syncope, and simplification of *mn*, an Oscan-Umbr. **famu*. This explanation of *famino*, etc. as an old infinitive form in a future imperative sense accords well with the use of the infinitive for imperative in Gk., cf. Monro, *Hom. Gramm.*² p. 207, Henze, *der imperativische Infinitiv in den homerischen Gedichten*, *BB.* XXVII, pp. 106-137.

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¹ From this stem, and not from **so-*, comes Gk. *ὄς ὄδε* = Skt. *āḍ*. The spiritus asper is due to the relative *ōs* < *iō*.

² If it were not that in Skt. the imperat. in -*tād* appears to be commoner as 2 sg. than as 3, I should be inclined to explain e.g. *bhavatād* as **bhevet-ōd*, that is the 3 sg. injunctive with -*ōd*; so Lat. *regitō* < **reget-ōd*, etc. This would have the advantage of allowing the 3 pl. form e.g. *regunto* < **regont-ōd* to be explained as an original and not

an analogical formation. But whether **tōd* or **-ōd* was the suffix, analogical extension must have taken place in the sg., unless both suffixes were used, **-tōd* with the 2 sg. imperat. ending in a vowel, and **-ōd* with the 3 sg. injunct. ending in a consonant. It may be noticed that in Skt. *āḍ* is very common while *tād* is not.

³ A suffixless loc. of an -*n* stem may be e.g., Umbr. *ferine* < **feren-en*.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 31. No. 4. 1910.

New Greek Inscriptions from Attica, Achaia, Lydia (with photographs), David M. Robinson. *Composition, not Suffixation*, Edwin W. Fay. *The Termination -kós as used by Aristophanes for Comic Effect*, Charles W. Peppler. Reviews. Reitzenstein's *Die hellenische Mysterienreligionen*, W. A. Heidel. Brief mention: Shorey's (and Laing's) *Horace*, C. N. Jackson on *Browning's Aristophanes' Apology*, Van Leeuwen's *Prolegomena ad Aristophanem*, the editor.

Classical Philology. Vol. 6. No. 1. 1911.

The Law of Breves Breviantes in the Light of Phonetics, E. A. Sonnenschein. *Administration of Justice in the Age of Homer*, Robert J. Bonner. *Wilamowitz on Θ*, A. Shewan. *Words found in the Iliad and in but one book of the Odyssey*, John A. Scott. *Erotic Teaching in Roman Elegy and the Greek Sources*, II, Arthur Leslie Wheeler. *The Identity of the Child in Virgil's Pollio: an Afterword*, J. E. Church, Jr. Notes and Discussions. *A Possible Occurrence of the Name Alexander in the Boghaz-Keni Tablets*, D. D. Luckenbill. *Note on [Plutarch] Stromat. 2*, W. A. Heidel. *Xenophon's Memorabilia, IV. 2. 10, γυναικικός*, W. A. Oldfather. *Note on Xenophanes Fr. 18 (Diels) and Isocrates Panegyricus 32*, Paul Shorey. *Apuleius Metamorphoses II. 29*, Henry W. Prescott. Reviews.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1911.

7 Jan. *Archimedis op.*, ed. J. L. Heiberg. 'Opus omnibus numeris absolutum' (K. Manitius). C. L. Meader, *Usage of idem, ipse, etc.* (G. Landgraf). R. Eisler, *Wörterbuch d. philosophischen Begriffe* (O. F. Walzel).

14 Jan. A. Schulte, *De ratione quae intercedit inter Polybium et tabulas publicas* (W. Aly).

21 Jan. M. Winternitz, *A General Index to the Names and Subject-Matter of the Sacred Books of the East* (H. Oldenberg). *Lycophronis Alexandra*, rec. E. Scheer (G. Lehnert). J. E. Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies*. The geographical articles of Sandys and Ashby, and those on law by Reid, are highly praised. Philosophy and art suffer from the separation of Greek and Latin (F. Leo).

28 Jan. O. Schrader, *Gymnasium und Sprachwissenschaft*. Pleads for a better linguistic training for classical teachers. H. L. Jones, *The Poetic Plural of Greek Tragedy in the light of Homeric Usage*. 'An excellent study' (H. Melzer). J. B. Hoffmann, *De uerbis quae in prisca Latinitate exstant deponentibus* (J. Heckmann).

4 Feb. W. Aly, *Zur Methode d. griechischen Mythologie*. Questions the position of R. Eisler in his *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*. A. J. Marouzeau, *L'emploi du participe présent Latin à l'époque républicaine* (G. Landgraf).

11 Feb. *Aristotelis Politica*, rec. Otto Immisch (W. Nestle). K. Gleisberg, *De uocabulis tragicis quae apud Platonem inueniuntur* (W. Nestle).

18 Feb. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*. 'Too much reliance on his predecessors' (K. Geldner). *Porphyrri Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes*, rec. B. Mommers (E. Hoffmann).

25 Feb. Th. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker* (2 and 3 Bd.). 'Exact knowledge of details combined with brilliance of style. Gomperz writes from the positivist standpoint, regarding Plato and Aristotle as perverters of philosophy' (A. Schmekel). J. Brause, *Lautlehre d. Kretischen Dialekte*. 'A model of clearness and completeness' (H. Jacobsthal).

4 March. *Heracliti Quaestiones Homericae*, ed. Fr. Oelmann, etc. (O. Loew). *Corn. Taciti histor. libr.*, rec. C. D. Fisher. 'A conservative edition; references to manuscript readings not always correct' (G. Andresen).

11 March. G. Fraustadt, *Encomiorum in litteris Graecis usque ad Romanam aetatem historia*. 'A valuable contribution to the history of ancient rhetoric' (H. Mutschmann).

18 March. O. Lautensach, *Die Aoriste bei den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (H. Lattmann). H. H. Armstrong, *Autobiographic elements in Latin inscriptions*. 'On the whole a delightful production, though the net is cast rather too widely' (J. Tolkiehn).

Hermathena. No. 36. 1910.

On the Bas-Relief of Demosthenes in Trinity College, Dublin (with ten plates), T. K. Abbott. *Notes on Mediaeval Hiberno-Latin and Hiberno-French Literature*, Mario Esposito. *Analecta Varia*, II, the same. (Descriptions of Mediaeval Latin MSS in Basle and Dublin.) *Sophoclea*, John I. Beare. *Notes on the Fragments of Callimachus in Grenfell and Hunt's Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part VII, pp. 25 sqq., Robinson Ellis. *Did Plautus use 'Synzesis'?* Charles Exon. *Note on Apuleius' De Deo Socratis*, III § 123, Robinson Ellis. *Notes on the Florida of Apuleius*, L. C. Purser. *The Second Ode of Catullus*, W. A. Goligher. Reviews, including long and elaborate ones of Sjögren's *Commentationes Tullianae* by L. C. P., of Walker's *ANTI MIAΣ* by J. I. B., of Clark's *Cicero*, and of Butler's translation of *Apuleius* by L. C. P., and of R. G. Bury's *Symposium of Plato* and of Roberts' *Dionysius on Literary Composition* by J. I. B.

Journal of Philology. Vol. 31. No. 62. 1910.

Adversaria, VII, Robinson Ellis. *Towards a Recension of Propertius*, Oliffe Legh Richmond. *ATAKTA*, II, I. Bywater. *Dictys of Crete and Homer*, T. W. Allen. *ΩΠΑΝ in Aeschylus*, etc., Arthur Platt. *Greek Nouns in Latin Poetry from Lucretius to Juvenal*, A. E. Housman. *Clemens Alexandrinus Stromateis*, IV, v, 23, Henry Jackson. *Were the Lex Thoria of 118 B.C. and the Lex Agraria of 111 B.C. reactionary Laws?* E. G. Hardy. *Notes on Quintus Smyrnaeus*, Arthur Platt.

Mnemosyne. 39. 1. 1911.

H. van Herwerden, *Ad Vespas Aristophanis*. Explanations and emendations. The same, *Ad lexicon meum graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*, ed. ii. Corrections and additions. J. van Leeuwen, *Homerica* (from vol. 38). Analysis of *fontes* of the *Odyssey*. Faults due to loans from older tales. Zeus and Poseidon are 'conflated' gods.

Traces of solar myth in the Lotophagoi, the Phaiakes, the hero's rejuvenations, the names of his descendants, etc. Partial adaptations of a tale in which the hero marries a foreign princess (Nausikaa). The arrows belong to the sun, the axes to Crete; the feat of the bow and the axes shows an old tale half understood. The hero's bedroom points to a sacred olive in a roofless shrine (Athena); Penelope the webster has features of Athena; other hints of Attic legends. Hints of Crete as the home of the hero or god; reflections of Cretan cults. The chronology of the *Odyssey*. L. Rank, *Observatiunculae ad Phaedrum* (from vol. 38). R. supports Hervieux's view of iii prol. 33-50 (Ph.'s adversity the cause, not the result, of his writings), and interprets or emends iv 2. 8, 10; 4. 5, 9; 6. 2; 8. 5; 9. 12. J. J. H., *Ad Horatii epl. i. 11, 1*. Read *lautaue Lesbos*. J. J. Hartman, *Adn. crit. ad Plutarchi opera* (from vol. 38). Philopoemen, Flamininus, Comp. Ph. et Fl., Pyrrhus, Marius, Lysander, Sulla, Comp. L. et S., Cimon, Lucullus, Comp. C. et L. The same, *De agro Tomitano*. On Ov. *Pont.* iii 1. 19, cf. Xen. *Anab.* i 5. 1. S. A. Naber, *Columbae internuntiae*. Evidence for their use in ancient times.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. 27. 1. 1911.

F. Cumont, *Babylon und die griechische Astronomie*. Debts of Greece to Babylon from Meton on. H. Schultz, *Das koloristische Empfinden der älteren griechischen Poesie*. Colour-adjectives in Homer, and the decline of the feeling for colour in later epos: compare Aegean and geometric art. E. Maass, *Die Schmerzensmutter der Antike*. The apologist Athenagoras on Greek cults; the Sorrowing Mother in ancient art; the origin of the Niobe group (in Cilicia under Seleukos Nikator), its history, and its connexion with Augustus' cult of Apollo. J. Freudenthal, *Leonardo Bruni als Philosoph*. G. Caro, *Die spanische Inquisition*. O. Harnack, *Keine 'grosse klassizistische Lyrik'?* H. Stadler, review of F. Dannemann's *Die Naturwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung*, etc. Contains a few notes on Aristotle, etc.

27. 2. 1911.

J. van Yzeren, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Orthographie*. Treats especially the spread of the 'Milesian' alphabet to Attica and throughout Greece, and the subsequent divorce of sounds and signs to our own day. J. Dräseke, *Plethons und Bessarions Denkschriften 'Ueber die Angelegenheiten im Peloponnes.'* E. Bergmann, *Die antike Nachahmungstheorie in der deutschen Ästhetik des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*. A. Leitzmann, *Briefe F. G. Welckers an W. v. Humboldt*. Letter 9 contains a study of Pindar *Nem.* i. P. Bolchert, *Liber Aristotelis de inundacione Nili*. B. concludes that the book as a whole is Aristotelian, previous to Alexander's invasion of Asia, and indebted to Democritus. Reviews.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 34. No. 1. 1910.

The First Consulship of Petilius Cerialis (A contribution to the Exegesis of the Histories of Tacitus), Philippe Fabia. That the prospect of the revolt of Germany 69-70 was viewed with indifference in Rome (Tac. *Hist.* IV 12, contrasted with *Hist.* IV 38 of the alarm at the mere rumour of a revolt in Africa) is a pessimistic generalization of Tacitus. Mucianus must at once have taken measures of precaution and the despatch of Cerialis have been at the very beginning of 70, as is shown in detail. The evidence of Josephus (VII 4. 2) is however valueless and the corrections of the passage unavailing. The Jewish historian is flattering the Flavian house. Cerialis was certainly consul designatus for 70; but he need not have been consul in his absence. He may have been *adlectus inter consulares*. (An *adlectio* of this kind is almost certain for Antonius Primus.) *Observations on the 'Epheby' in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Pierre Jouguet. Details, including difficulties in the witness of the papyri as to the age limits for ἐφηβοί, are discussed. In Pap. Oxyr. 477 lines 15-25 new

supplements are proposed. (Quis) *Quid Relative*, Félix Gaffiot. Reply to certain objections (Ernont, Lattmann) to the theory put out in *Pour le vrai Latin* (Paris, 1909) that *quis*, *quid*, as well as the ambiguous forms, can be used as relatives. *Funeral Stelé of Caulonia*, B. H. In *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, p. 328 l. 'Πηξιμάχου for 'Πηρ: Notes on certain MSS. of the 'Greek Lapidaries,' Pierre Boudreaux. Excerpts from MSS in the Paris National Library. *Afranius Burrhus*, de la Ville de Mirmont. The traditional view that Burrhus was the 'honest soldier' is disputed. There are the following sections: I. The Burrhus of Racine's *Britannicus*. II. Notices elsewhere than in Tacitus and Dion Cassius. III. Tacitus *Annals* XII ch. 42. IV. The Vaison inscription. V. Was Burrhus Nero's tutor? VI. Burrhus as Prefect of the Praetorium. Duration of his influence. VII. Agrippina's death. VIII. Last years of B. A papyrus 'codex' of S. Cyril of Alexandria, D. Serruys. On the Louvre pap. E. 10295 (1 in Révillont's catalogue) an uncial codex of books VI-VIII of the *de Adoratione in spiritu et ueritate*. The 10 leaves published by J. H. Bernard in *Trans. Royal Irish Academy* 1891 pp. 613-652 are fragments of this important MS, which is fully described. The evidence of the MS is considered under two heads: (1) the biblical text quoted by Cyril (the method followed by the Cambridge editors is criticized), (2) the text of his commentary thereon. *Christian Inscriptions in Egypt*, D. Serruys. Further note on nos. 596 and 597 of Lefebvre's *Recueil*. *Inscriptions of Chios and Erythrae*, Bernard Haussoullier. On three inscriptions published by Mlle. Emilie Zolotas in 'Αθηνά. *Seneca de Otio*, René Pichon. In IV. 2. l. 'terrasque et maria an terrae incerta.' In V. 5 add *corporum* or *ignium* after 'sacrorum.'

No. 2.

Lille papyrus 29, Bernard Haussoullier. Text, translation and exegesis of this juridical papyrus. *Greek funerary disks*, the same. Comments on three, two published by Alex. Lambropoulos and F. H. Marshall. *The object of Cicero's first letter to Quintus*, René Pichon. It is not a letter proper but a political pamphlet. *Note on a Greek fragment attributed to St. Irenaeus*, J. Viteau. *Stieren fragm. 2* is also found in Gregory of Nazianzus. *Observations on Plautus* (continued), Louis Havet. On *Merc.* (6), 31, 47-8, 89, 282, 291, (512), 591, 598, (602), 701, 773-4, 777, 912, 1021. *Julian and the Prefect Florentius*, Luc de Vos. Critical examination of an important passage of Libanius. *On the Metrical Prose of Seneca*, A. Bourgery. Statistics. The books most strikingly metrical are posterior to his banishment. *Correction of Aristotle* (Prob. phys. XI. 38), C. E. Ruelle. For τῷ οἶνῳ l. τῷ νῷ. *A Tironian Gleaning*, Paul Legendre. Correction of an epigram in Tironian Script. Riese, *Anth. Lit.* No. 719. *A Pythagorean λόγος ἱερός*, A. Delatte. An elaborate reconstitution.

No. 3.

Conjectures on the Chronology of some plays of Euripides of uncertain date, Maurice Croiset. It is argued from the subject of the *Stheneboea*, the *Phoenix*, the *Cressae* and the *Cretes* (ill-regulated female passion) that they belong to the same period as the First Hippolytus, viz. to the years 440-432 approximately. The abandonment of these themes and the change of treatment in the Second Hippolytus mark a concession to popular opinion. *Studies in the language and style of Terence*, H. Bléry. I. On the Use of the Substantive. Details of Terentian usage. *Philo of Alexandria* de spec. legg. I § 82 (Cohn), Emile Bréhier. Correction. *Observations on Certain Speeches of Cicero*, L. Delaruelle. On *Quint.* 49, *Rosc. Am.* 24, 149, *Cael.* 42, *Marcell.* 10. On *Afranius Burrus*, René Waltz. Contests in part the views of de la Ville de Mirmont that the reputation of Burrus for honesty is undeserved. In Joseph. *Ant.* XX. 8. 9 the reading of the MSS is Βήρυλλος. *The history and criticism of the Platonic text and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 1016-1017, Henri Alline. An elaborate article leading to the conclusions that for the text of the *Phaedrus* four sources must

be used. (1) The text of the first family in which B is the best MS, (2) that of the second family, best MS Venetus T, (3) that of the third family, best MS W, (4) the 'ancient tradition' represented by quotations and papyri. The consensus of B T W gives the Platonic text in most cases, but not always.

No. 4.

Transformations of Spain during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, J. B. Mispoulet. It is contended inter alia that the 'Hibernia noua citerior Antoniana' of C. J. L. II 2661 is *Hispania Citerior* transformed, not *Asturia et Callaecia*. *Critical notes on the Culex*, A. Cartault. On 3, 110 sqq., 168, 189 sqq., 248, 370 sq. *Arrianea*, Alfred Jacob. *Critical notes on book I and II 1. 2. The companions and the banishment of Ovid*, Salomon Reinach. In *Trist.* IV 101 what Ovid refers to is robbery by his servants (attendants) and desertion by his friends. The sole admissible hypothesis as to the cause of his banishment is that 'Ovide, reçu chez Julie, assista à une opération magique ou divinatoire dont la conclusion était qu'Auguste allait bientôt mourir et qu'il aurait pour successeur Agrippa.' *Brunck and d'Ansse de Villosion*, Ch. Joret on the correspondence and personal relations of these scholars. *Plautus* Cas. 437-451, Georges Ramain. Lines 437-9 and 440-2 should be transposed. *Epigraphica*, Bernard Haussoullier. Corrections of two Greek inscriptions.

Rheinisches Museum. 66. 1. 1911.

E. Petersen, *Zu Aischylos Agamemnon*. Discussions and emendations of 12-16, the first chorus, 538-551, 799-806, 933, 975-1033, 1114-8, 1455-61, 1468-80. W. Bannier, *Zu den attischen Uebergabeurkunden des 4. Jahrhunderts*. The methods of these temple-inventories, and their witness to a measure taken in 344-3 comparable to that of 431 (Thuc. 2, 24). L. Bertalot, *Humanistisches in der Anthologia Latina*. The *A. L.* contains many poems of the fifteenth century, e.g. Riese² 789, 811, 831-847, 851, 854-863, perhaps 863^a. B. gives texts and apparatus of these poems, and proofs of authorship; with a note on Franciscus Patricius (fifteenth century) in connexion with 941, *Epithalamium Patricii* (fifth century). A. Klotz, *Zu Caesars Bellum civile*. No reason to think that *B. c.* contains reports from subordinates which C. did not live to adapt to his own style: e.g. the description of the siege-engines at Massilia is C.'s own. But there and elsewhere *B. c.* has the faults of an unfinished sketch. Thus in 1, 7, 5 *nulla lex . . . facta* is a marginal note by C., not worked into the text; 2, 29, 3 is headings never written out; Curio's speech (2, 32), a free creation of Caesar's, was never fully adapted to its context; in 3, 9, 8 two alternative sentences are combined, etc. W. Judeich, '*Theopomps Hellenika*.' The authorship is fully discussed, the claims of Ephoros are maintained (the objections to E. rest on a mistaken view of the scale of his work), and from this standpoint the battle near Sardes and the war round Rhodes are reviewed at length. F. Solmsen, *Hom. πεφυγότες und Verwandtes*. π. is an intensive, formed by differentiation from πεφευγώς when the perfect had lost its intensive force; so λελιχμότες (Hes. *Th.* 826) from λελοιχότες. Th. Birt, *Orthographie in Athen*. Discussion of the στήλη of the ὀρθογράφος Timokrates. ὁ. = γραμματιστής, litterator. A. Brinkmann, *Zur Geschichte der Schreibtafel*. Evidence from the same στήλη and elsewhere. A. Klotz, *Miscellanea Vergiliana*. On the ancient authorities for V.'s life; the three sources of the Bernese scholia; and *Probi uita Vergiliana*. G. Mercati, *Zu Bd. LXV 607 ff.* Notice of a new MS. (cod. Vat. gr. 1114) of ἑκθεσις λόγων περὶ Μακαρινῶν and Ὀδοιπορίαι ἀπὸ Ἐδὲμ τοῦ παραδείσου εἰς τὴν Ῥωμῶν.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 38. No. 4. 1910.

State, School and Politics in Republican Rome, Corrado Barbagallo. A sketch of the interpositions of the State in the education, 'primary' and 'secondary' as it might

be called, of Romans under the republic, with especial reference to the advance of Greek culture and the native and democratic opposition thereto. The apparent contradiction between Cic. *de rep.* 4. 3. 3 and the censorian edict against the *rhetores Latini* (Seneca *de rhet.* 1. and elsewhere) is due to the fact that Cicero's statement that the *maiores* prescribed no system of education refers to the *disciplina puerilis* only. Account is taken of the influence of Cato; and certain aspects of education e.g. musical and physical are specially handled. *On the Interpretation of a Mutilated Figure in the Tabula Iliaca of Bovillae*, Angelo Taccone. In agreement with the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus which the sculptor is following the figure should be a Nereid. *Sulla in Greece*, Carolina Lanzani. An extract from the author's *Storia interna di Roma negli anni 87-82 A.C.* shortly to be published. *Apropos of the Second Edition of Gudeman's Grundriss zur Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*, Pietro Rasi. A protest against G.'s treatment of Italian Classical Scholarship, with criticisms of details. *Apropos of a Bibliography*, Augusto Balsamo. On R. Klusmann's continuation of Engelmann. The writer advocates 'special' bibliographies. *On certain Grammatical Peculiarities in Minucius Felix*, Luigi Valmaggi. Details under the following heads: Flexion of Greek Nouns, Degrees of Comparison, Confusion of Cases after Prepositions. *Latin and Greek Etymologies* (continued), Oreste Nazari. The left hand is the 'weaker' hand. So O. H. G. *winistar*, O.N. *vinstre* may be connected with Skt. *vinā* 'without' hence 'deficient'; Zend *vairyatava-* may just as well be related to Skt. *vr* 'surround, hinder' as to *vr* 'desire, love'; Sk. *vāmas* is from rt *vā* (weak form *ū*) 'want,' so 'imperfect'; Skt. *savyās* is connected with L. *saucius*; ἀριστερός with *paíw*, rt *rais* : *ris*; *sinister* with *σίνωμαι*. Latin *custos* (from *kois-tōd-s*), *cista*, *cisterna* are connected with *cura* from *coira*, *coisa* from a root *ghi ghoi* + *s* in Gk. κί-σ (κίστη). Obituary notice of Giovanni Setti, late professor of Greek at Turin, Angelo Taccone.

Vol. 39. No. 1. 1911.

The pseudo-Philippus, Giuseppe Cardinali. The accounts in Diodorus 31. 40a and 32. 15 show discrepancy; the latter represents a development of the fiction that the pretender put out about his origin which was invented as early as 153, the year in which Demetrius handed him over to the Romans. The statement accepted by many that he provoked a rising in Macedonia before this is incredible and is due to a confusion with the events of 149. A sketch is given of A.'s career from his escape out of Italy to his final defeat and capture. *The consul 'suffectus' L. Valerius Flaccus and the Mithridatic War*, Carolina Lanzani. Extract from the second part of her 'Storia interna di Roma negli anni 87-82 B.C. *On Julianus Toletanus*, Gino Funaioli. The grammatical treatise of the Bishop of Toledo (680-690) published by Cardinal Lorenzana in 1797 is discussed, the MS sources described and it is brought into connexion with a small treatise preserved in a manuscript of the 8th or 9th cent. at Bâle (F III 15 d), which it is shown cannot be derived from Julianus's work. *The praenomen Numerius in the Gens Fabia*, Giovanni Costa. Contends that the application of this praenomen to the earlier Fabii (who have a different praenomen in Livy IV 43 *Cn.*, 49 *M.*, 57. 12 *Cn.*, 58. 6 *Cn.*) rests on a confusion of abbreviations, *N* = *Naeuus* = *Gnaeus* being mistaken for *N(umerius)*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1910.

15 Aug. R. Schultz, Αἰδώς (W. Nestle), favourable. W. A. Heidel, Περὶ φύσεως, *A Study of the Conception of Nature among the Pre-Socratics* (W. Nestle). 'A thorough and learned investigation.' A. S. Arvanitopoulos, 'Η κόρη τοῦ Ἀντισιο εἶναι ἡ Πράξιλλα τοῦ Ἀνσίππου (Schwatlo), favourable. C. A. Zwiener, *De vocum graecarum apud poetas Latinos ab Ovidii temporibus usque ad primi p. Chr. n. saeculi finem usu* (F. Gustafsson), favourable. *Lateinische Grammatik*. Fr. Stolz, *Laut- und Formen-*

lehre; J. H. Schmalz, *Syntax und Stilistik*; F. Heerdeggen, *Lexikographie*. 4 Aufl. (H. Lattmann). R. Wirtz, *Beiträge zur Katilinarischen Verschwörung* (W. Sternkopf). 'Shows diligence, but is too ambitious.' W. Liebenam, *Fasti consulares imperii Romani von 30 v. Chr. bis 565 n. Chr.* (Ph. Fabia). 'An excellent little book.' *Der Obergermanisch-rätische Limes*. Lf. 32. Kastell Zugmantel, Jagsthausen, Mainhardt (P. Goessler). Guénin, *Inventaire archéologique du Cercle de Tébéssa* (H. Dessau). H. Dütschke, *Zwei römische Kindersarkophage aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (E. Buschor), favourable. E. Euangelides, *Δύο Βυζαντιακά κείμενα*. 1. Gregorios Chioniadēs, *Ἐπιστολαί*. 2. Bessarion, *Μονωδία* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

29 Aug. M. P. Nilsson, *Studien zur Geschichte des alten Epeiros* (H. Swoboda). 'An excellent work.' H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 2 Aufl. II, 2. *Wortindex*, von W. Kranz. Nachtrag von H. Diels (A. Döring), very favourable. W. Olsen, *Platons Protagoras* (R. Adam), favourable. H. Luther, *Josephus und Justus von Tiberias* (O. Stählin), favourable. G. Thiele, *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus und die Prosafassungen des Phädrus* (Draheim), favourable on the whole. A. C. Clark, *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin* (C. W.), favourable.

5 Sept. *Xenophontis opera*, rec. E. C. Marchant. IV. *Institutio Cyri* (W. Gemoll). 'A proof of the editor's unusual power of work.' Fr. Kluge, *De Platonis Critia* (R. Adam), favourable. Fr. Merbach, *De Epicuri canonica* (H. Mutschmann). 'Clear and sober.' J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (W. Larfeld), very favourable. A. Schulte, *De ratione quae intercedit inter Polybium et tabulas publicas* (W. Larfeld), favourable. E. Gollob, *Die griechischen Handschriften der öffentlichen Bibliothek in Besançon* (R. Fuchs). E. Hauler, *Neues aus dem Frontopalimpsest* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. J. A. Tolman, *A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's Carmina Epigraphica Latina* (M. Manitius). 'A valuable contribution.' W. A. Heidel, *Bekehrung im klassischen Altertum mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Lucretius*. Uebersetzt von L. H. Minzloff (W. Nestle), favourable. C. Täuber, *Die Ursprache und ihre Entwicklung* (E. Zupitza), unfavourable. K. J. Neumann, *Entwicklung und Aufgaben der alten Geschichte* (G. J. Schneider), favourable.

12 Sept. W. Deonna, *Comment les Procédés inconscients d'Expression se sont transformés en Procédés conscients dans l'Art grec* (H. Blümner), favourable on the whole. E. Struck, *De Terentio et Donato* (P. Wessner). 'Has forwarded the investigation.' G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies from their Origin to the End of the Republic* (Soltau), very favourable. J. M. Heer, *Euangelium Gatianum*. Quattuor euangelia latine translata ex cod. Monasterii. S. Gatiani (st.), favourable. S. Eusebii Hieronymi *epistulae*. I. Epp. I.-LXX. rec. I. Hilberg (C. Weyman), favourable.

19 Sept. H. Francotte, *Les Finances des Cités grecques* (Fr. Cauer). 'Full of results.' L. Pareti, *Note sulle interpolazioni cronologiche nei primi due libri delle Elleniche di Senofonte* (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. C. Behrendt, *De Aeneae Tactici commentario poliorcetico* (R. Helbing), favourable. A. Buturas, *Ein Kapitel der historischen Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (R. Helbing), favourable. T. K. Sidey, *The Participle in Plautus, Petronius, and Apuleius* (F. Gustafsson). 'Shows sound judgment.' L. Thurmayer, *Sprachliche Studien zu dem Kirchenhistoriker Euagrius* (J. Dräseke), very favourable. Θ. Χελδραϊχ, *Τὰ δημῶδη ὀνόματα τῶν φυτῶν, ἐκδιδόμενα ὑπὸ Σπ. Μιλιαρᾶκι* (G. Wartenberg).

26 Sept. W. Deecke, *Textkritische und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Stellen der Ilias* (Chr. Harder). 'Does not further Homeric text criticism.' A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεῖα*. I. (W. Larfeld), favourable. G. Boesch, *De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione* (J. Sitzler). 'Shows diligence and good method.' J. Norreri, *Studi Lucreziani*. I. *Sulla dottrina dei sensi in Lucrezio* (J. Tolkiehn),

favourable. Guil. Dammann, *Cicero quo modo in epistulis sermonem hominibus, quos appellat, et rebus, quas tangit, accomodaverit* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Has neglected current literature on the subject.' *Ammiani Marcellini rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, rec. rhythmicæque distinxit C. V. Clark adiuvantibus L. Traube et Guil. Heraeo. I. Libri XIV.—XXV. (Th. Stangl), favourable. H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *L'Astrologie chez les Gallo-Romains* (K. Ginzel), favourable.

3 Oct. C. Ritter, *Platon*. I. (R. Adam), favourable. O. Höfer, *Mythologisch-Epigraphisches* (W. Larfeld). A. Vonach, *Die Berichte des Photius über die fünf älteren altischen Redner* (H. Mutschmann), unfavourable. C. J. Ogden, *De infinitivi finalis vel consecutivi constructione apud priscos poetas Graecos* (R. Helbing). 'Of permanent value.' Fr. Müller, *Quaestiones grammaticae de γάρ particulisque adversativis enuntiata eorumque membra conjungentibus* (R. Helbing), favourable. W. A. Merrill, *On the Contracted Genitive in -i in Latin* (F. Gustafsson). M. Barone, *La frase nominale pura in Plauto e in Terenzio* (F. Gustafsson). 'Examples not complete.' *Petronii cena Trimalchionis nebst ausgewählten pompejanischen Wandinschriften*, herausg. von W. Heraeus (E. Lommatzsch), very favourable. M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (F. Hirsch), favourable.

10 Oct. A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München*. 2 Aufl. von P. Wolters (H. L. Ulrichs), very favourable. S. Eitrem, *Hermes und die Toten* (H. Steuding), favourable. L. Levi, *Ancora sulle origini del drama satirico* (S. Mekler). 'Contains nothing fresh.' A. Rohde, *De Diyllo Atheniensi Diodori auctore* (v. Mess), favourable. E. Fritze, *Beiträge zur sprachlich-stilistischen Würdigung des Eusebios* (R. Helbing), favourable. I. Bywater, *The Erasmus Pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors*, J. Alexander, A. Manutius, Antonio of Lebrixa (R. Helbing), favourable. K. Busche, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung Ciceronischer Reden* (H. Nohl), very favourable. On the 4th and 5th Verrine and pro Caecina. J. B. Hofmann, *De verbis quae in prisca latinitate extant deponentibus* (F. Gustafsson). 'Thorough and careful.' K. Lerche, *De quippe particula* (Th. Stangl), very favourable.

17 Oct. R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Soltau), very favourable. B. Perrin, *The Austere Consistency of Pericles. Plutarch's Pericles IX.—XV.* (K. Ziegler), favourable. R. Heinze, *Ciceros politische Anfänge* (J. Tolkiehn), unfavourable. F. F. Abbott, *Vulgar Latin in the Ars Consentii de barbarismis* (Th. Stangl), favourable. R. Knorr, *Die verzierten Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe von Rottenburg-Sumelocenna* (C. Koenen), favourable.

24 Oct. H. Nissen, *Orientation. Studien zur Geschichte der Religion. III.* (F. K. Ginzel), favourable. C. C. Torrey, *Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel* (C. Fries), favourable. J. Stenzel, *De ratione quae inter carminum epicorum proemia et hymnicam Graecorum poesin intercedere videtur* (J. Sitzler), favourable. M. Krueger, *M. Antonii et L. Licinii Crassi oratorum Romanorum fragmenta* (W. Sternkopf). 'Shows sober accuracy and good judgment.' *Pompejanische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes*, ausgew. von H. Diehl (A. Stein). H. Goelzer, *Le Latin de Saint Avit* (Th. Stangl), favourable. S. G. Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship* (Th. Stangl), very favourable. Frhr. Geyr von Schweppenburg und P. Goessler, *Hügelgräber im Illertal bei Tannheim* (C. Koenen). R. Moeller, *De Photii Petrique Siculi libris contra Manichaeos scriptis* (J. Dräseke). 'A worthy contribution.'

31 Oct. N. Papageorgios, *Κλυταιμίστρα—Κλυταιμήστρα* (F. Adami), favourable. R. Reitzenstein, *Studien zu Quintilians grösseren Deklamationen* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. *Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, Heft 6; E. Schwartz, *Über die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (O. Stählin), favourable. W. Schultz,

Dokumente der Gnosis (O. Stählin), rather unfavourable. R. Storr, *Concordance to the Latin Original of the Four Books known as the De Imitatione Christi by Thomas à Kempis* (M. Manitius). *Catalogus dissertationum philologicarum classicarum*. Ed. II. Zusammen-
gestellt von der Buchhandlung G. Fock (Fr. Harder).

7 Nov. C. Ritter, *Neue Untersuchungen über Platon* (H. Gillischewski). H. Sjögren, *Commentationes Tullianae. De Ciceronis epistulis ad Brutum, ad Quintum fratrem, ad Atticum quaestiones* (W. Sternkopf) I. M. Antoninus Imperator ad se ipsum, rec. J. H. Leopold (A. Bonhöffer).

14 Nov. G. A. Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon. Texte und Untersuchungen* (G. Thiele). H. Sjögren, *Commentationes Tullianae* (W. Sternkopf) II. J. de Decker, *Apropos d'un Épigramme contre Néron* (W. Gemoll). On Suet. Ner. 46.

21 Nov. G. Przychocki, *Ad Euripidis Hypsipylam adnotationes* (K. Busche).

28 Nov. Th. Th. Sokolov, *Gesammelte Schriften* (E. Diehl). Twenty-two papers on ancient history. *Platonis opera*, rec. J. Burnet; *Apologia and Meno* (H. Gillischewski). H. C. Nutting, *The Conspiracy at Rome in 66-65 B.C.* (P. Groebe). Tacito, *La Germania*, a cura di C. Annibaldi (G. Andresen).

5 Dec. J. Sundwall, *Zur Frage von dem neunzehnjährigen Schaltcyklus in Athen* (F. K. Ginzel). O. Apelt, *Platons Dialog Theaetetus* (B. v. Hagen). *Grundriss der Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, unter teilweiser Benützung des gleichbetitelten Werkes von M. Zoeller bearb. von E. Martial. I. *Literatur der Republik* (Fr. Harder).

12 Dec. J. v. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung*. II. *Die Blütezeit und der Verfall des Reiches der Achämeniden* (A. Šanda), very favourable. I. M. Linforth, *Epaphos and the Egyptian Apis* (A. Wiedemann). *Priene*, rekonstruiert von A. Zippelius, aquarelliert von E. Wolfsfeld. Begleitwort von Th. Wiegand. (K. Löschhorn). Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. by P. Shorey, rev. by P. Shorey and G. J. Laing (H. Röhl), favourable.

19 Dec. H. P. Wright, *The Recovery of a lost Roman tragedy* (W. Gemoll). Supposed to be contained in the Tullia episode in Livy Bk. I. K. Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte der Barkiden*. II. *Hasdrubals Marschziel im Metaurus-Feldzuge* (Fr. Reuss).

26 Dec. H. Draheim, *Die Odyssee als Kunstwerk* (Th. Plüss). H. Gummerus, *De Columella philosopho* (W. Gemoll).

1911. 2 Jan. D. Müllder, *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen* (W. Nestle). H. Gasse, *De Lycophrone mythographo* (H. Steuding). Ph. Fabia, *Le premier consulat de Petilius Cerialis. Contribution à l'exégèse des Histoires de Tacite* (Ed. Wolff).

9 Jan. R. J. Walker, *Ἀντὶ μῆτρως. An Essay in Isometry* (J. Sitzler). Th. Sinko, *Plutarchea* (K. Hubert). H. Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte* (A. Busse).

16 Jan. F. Selvers, *De mediae comoediae sermone* (E. Fränkel). C. Remy, *La première eclogue de Virgile* (P. Jahn). R. v. Pöhlmann, *Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus* (Nohl).

23 Jan. *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer collection*. I. *The Washington Manuscript* (E. Hautsch). L. Kunle, *Untersuchungen über das achte Buch des Thukydides* (S. P. Widmann). *Stobaei Anthologium*, rec. C. Wachsmuth et O. Hense. IV. (K. Hubert).

30 Jan. K. Sudhoff, *Aus dem antiken Badewesen*. II. (H. Blümner). P. Shorey, *Φύσις, Μελέτη, Ἐπιστήμη* (H. Mutschmann). R. Frobenius, *Die Syntax des Ennius* (C. Stegmann).

6 Feb. G. Engel, *De antiquorum epicorum didacticorum historicorum prooemiis* (R. Helm). J. G. Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome* (H. Steuding). C. Zippel, *Quatenus Ovidius in Ibide Callimachum aliosque fontes imprimis defixiones secutus sit* (H. Steuding). A. Klose, *Römische Priesterfasten. I.* (Ph. Fabia).

13 Feb. Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (H. Blümner). K. Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum* (H. Blümner). G. Nicole, *Sphinx* (H. Steuding). C. O. Thulin, *Die etruskische Disziplin. III. Die Ritualbücher und zur Geschichte und Organisation der Haruspices* (H. Steuding). W. v. Bartels, *Die etruskische Bronzeleber von Piacenza, ein Versuch* (H. Steuding). F. Müller, *De ueterum imprimis Romanorum studiis etymologicis* (J. Tolkiehn). Chr. Huelsen, *Die Thermen des Agrippa. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie des Marsfeldes* (Köhler).

20 Feb. E. Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen* (H. Steuding). G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus in Ägypten* (A. Wiedemann). *Ciceronis ad M. Brutum et M. Bruti ad Ciceronem epistularum Liber IX*, rec. H. Sjögren (W. Sternkopf). A. M. Hermon, *The Clausula in Ammianus Marcellinus* (V. Gardthausen).

27 Feb. V. Porzeziński, *Einleitung in die Sprachwissenschaft. Übersetzung aus dem Russischen von E. Boehme* (R. Wagner). E. Schweikert, *Cruquius und der Codex Divaei des Horaz* (J. Bick). A. Patin, *Der Aufbau des Ars poetica des Horaz* (J. Bick). H. H. Armstrong, *Autobiographic elements in Latin inscriptions* (A. Stein). H. Mattingly, *The Imperial civil service of Rome* (O. Hirschfeld).

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. II Band, 4 Heft.

F. Solmsen, *Ionische Verbformen bei Attikern*. A discussion of verb-forms borrowed by Athenian classical writers from the Ionic dialect, e.g. δέιται instead of δέι in Sophocles, the Ἰωνικώτατος of the tragic poets, cf. his use of πολλόν *Ant.* 86. *Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1908*. A descriptive account of books, pamphlets and magazine articles on questions (1) of Greek language (including modern Greek) by Kretschmer, and (2) of Latin and other Italic languages by Skutsch. This number also contains an article on *praesto* by Skutsch.

III Band, 1 Heft.

W. Kroll, *Der lateinische Relativsatz*. Maintains that the constructions of the relative in Latin started from the indefinite pronoun and not (except in a few cases) from the interrogative, as is commonly believed, e.g. by Wegener, who explains *frater qui Romae fuit mortuus est* as an abbreviation of *frater, qui? is Romae fuit* etc. E. Löfstedt, *Zur Mulomedicina Chironis*. Notes on the text and language, including a discussion of *post horas* = *post paucas horas* (c. 446) with other examples that confirm the MS. reading of Suetonius *Nero* 37, *mori iussis non amplius quam horarum spatium dedit*, where some have proposed to add II or III before *horarum*.

Short articles by various authors on βρά; *strena* on March 1 and Jan. 1; instances of plural words for single persons in ordinary Roman speech, cf. *Cic. ad Attic.* 1. 17, 3; an old Latin inscription from Corchiano *med Loucilius feced; absque; auiare*, a ghost-form that originated in the incorrect reading of an inscription; *incolumis* and its connection with *columen* 'resting on a pillar,' cf. *solidus*, σῶς; *Catull.* 32. 1, for *Hypsithilla* or *Ipsimilla* read with the best MSS *Ipsitilla* 'the little *ipsa*, or *lady*,' cf. *campitelli*, *campita*, *campus*; *odiosus* = *molestus*; new fragments of inscriptions from Crete; -*assim* and -*essim* subjunctives; *turdus*; modern Greek ἀς

[cf. ἄς φάγη 'let him eat'] = ἄφες not ἔασε. Hatzidakis, *Neugriechische Miscellen*. Studies in words, e.g. κορνιαχτός = κονιορτός. Skutsch, *Die volkskische Lex Sacra*. Notes on the text and its interpretation.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXVIII Band, Hefte 1, 2. 1911.

M. Buttenwieser, *Zur Geschichte des böotischen Dialekts*. This important article, which occupies over 100 pages, deals with (i) some local peculiarities of Boeotian, and (ii) its absorption in the κοινή. In the first section the writer suggests that the cities of B. fall into two linguistic groups, characterized by their treatment of ε before vowels and the presence or absence of ξ aorists in non-guttural stems. The evidence available seems, however, insufficient. In the second section B. first asks how far the inscriptions of Boeotia reflect the speech of the people at any given date. Although his reasoning is not always convincing, his main conclusion is certainly sound, viz. that the proportion of κοινή in the B. inscriptions varies not so much according to their locality as according to their purpose, those of a religious character retaining the old dialect longest. Osten-Sacken, *Etymologien*, including φρνάσσομαι, φρύγω, *frigo*. W. Havers, *Wortgeschichtliches*. *Est sub alapa* Petron. *Cen. Trim.* 38 is generally taken to mean 'he is puffed up with pride.' Havers retains the traditional text and explains it as (i) 'he is under the influence of a blow from the mala manus,' 'the man's cracked,' or (ii) 'he is standing under the mala manus,' 'he will soon be off his head.' Havers traces the same belief in the daemonic touch in θέλγειν 'strike, weaken, deceive, charm,' and ἀσελγής = ἀθελγής, a word borrowed from Boeotian or Laconian, which changed θ to σ; the initial α represents the weak grade of the preposition ἐν.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. XLIV, 1, 2.

A. Fick, *Äoler und Achäer*. Traces the spread of the Aeolians and Achaeans from their original settlements in Thessaly over the mainland of Greece by means of dialectal variations. *Homeric*. Notes on ἀλώω, ἔσπετε, Φειδώς, νέποδες, πότνια Ἥρη, etc. H. Jacobsohn, Lat. *suecero*, CIL. 5974. Perhaps of Celtic origin, from a stem *suĕc* or *suĕc*; **suĕcuro* = OHG. *swāgur*. A. Zimmerman, *Zu lateinischen Suffixen*. Discusses the suffixes in *-u(i)lentus* and *-os(s)us*. J. Schrijnen, *Zum anlautenden Konsonantenwechsel im Griechischen*. In doublets like πόλις: πτόλις the τ arises from informative ĭ or ŭ after the initial consonant. F. Solmsen, *Zur Beurtheilung der epischen Zerdehnung*. A. Bezenberger connects Latin *faex* with Lith. *gaiztù* (*gaiszau*). R. Thurneysen, *Latin re-*. In *relligio*, *reliquiae* double *l* comes from *rellatus*, which in turn was affected by *rettuli*. F. Bechtel, *Parerga*. W. Prellwitz. On κατηφής, which is derived from **bhē* 'shine.' On Osco-bantian *aituā-*, from **ei* 'go.' Lat. *seuērus*; the second part connected with ἦρα in ἦρα φέρειν, the acc. of **uēr* f. 'protection, loyalty,' cf. ἐρίρpes, ἐρίρpos. Lat. *uērus* comes from the same root; for the development of the meaning cf. Eng. 'true.' W. Schulze, Γοργώς. The name is preserved in Livy xxxiv 29 (*Gorgopas*) and CIL. 6565 (*Messi Gorgotis*).

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY 1911.

A COLLATION OF *CODEX LOVANIENSIS*.

Codex Lovaniensis, or *L*, the best MS. of Caesar in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 10,084), which is assigned to the eleventh century, has been collated by Alfred Holder for his edition of the *Bellum ciuile* and by Mr. R. L. A. Du Pontet for his edition of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* and the *Bellum Africanum*; but for the *Bellum Gallicum* no collation has hitherto been available.¹ Last year I made one, which I sent to Dr. Meusel. He urged me to publish it, remarking that it would be very useful, as ‘wir haben nun ein sichereres Urteil über die Familie ϕ .’ Relying upon Holder’s collation, he had described *L* in his own edition of the *Bellum ciuile* (1906, p. viii) as ‘a twin-brother of *Ashburnhamianus*’ (S); and so it is in the *Bellum ciuile*, but, as he acknowledged after reading my collation, not in the *Bellum Gallicum*. The first folio, comprising i, 1-6, § 3 (. . . *bono animo in*), is by a later hand. The MS. is described in the Catalogue thus: ‘C. JVLII CAESARIS commentariorum libri. Desinit cum verbis “res eis suppeteret” in libro de Bello Africano, cap. 33. Codex membranaceus, sec. XI., sed folium primum a manu recentiori suppletum est. Folio [10,084.]’

My collation was made with Dr. Meusel’s critical edition of 1894, some of the readings of which he altered in the reissue (1908) of his school edition. I made the collation, without any thought of publishing it, principally for his benefit; and I thought that it would be most useful to him if I recorded on the margin of my copy of his edition every variation, even the most unimportant. But in its present form it will be not less useful if I save space by making a great many omissions, which may be classified as follows:—First, with one or two exceptions, the reasons for which will be obvious, I have omitted the very numerous instances in which the scribe (or the corrector) corrected mistakes which he had himself made, principally in the order of words; secondly, all erasures the words written on which agree with the readings of all the MSS.; thirdly, mere blunders, which are very few, such as *omni omni* (i, 11, § 3); fourthly, differences of spelling,² such as *accerso* for *arcesso*, *adolescens* for *adulescens*, *aggredior* for *adgredior*, *anchora* for *ancora*, *colloco* for *conloco*, *ditio* and *conditio* for *dicio* and *condicio*, *optineo* for *obtimeo*, *prona* for

¹ See Oudendorp’s preface.

² Except a few which are noted in Meusel’s *apparatus criticus*.

prone, *prouintia* for *prouincia*, *quandiu* for *quamdiu*, *spacium* for *spatium*, etc.; fifthly, every instance in which a proper name is written in full, as is usual in the *a* MSS., instead of being denoted by the initial, for instance, *titus* instead of *T*; sixthly, every instance in which, though all the MSS. agree, Meusel introduces a conjectural addition, for example <*ab*> (i, 25, § 6); seventhly, variations in the spelling of the following proper names, which occur often: *L* has *aduatuci* for *Atuatuci* everywhere except in ii, 4, § 9 (*catuacos*), *casiuellaunus* for *Cassiellaunus*, *induciomarus* for *Indutiomarus*, *sueui* for *Sueui*, and *treuiri* for *Treueri* invariably, and *diuitiacus* for *Diuitiacus* everywhere except in i, 32, §§ 1, 3 (*diuiciaco*, *diuiciacus*) and i, 40, § 19 (*deuiciacum*): it also has *cesar* for *Caesar* occasionally and *grecus* for *Graecus* in the four passages in which the word occurs. Lastly, I have omitted every instance in which a numeral, not occurring in a variant, is expressed differently from the corresponding numeral in Meusel's text. In *L*, as in the *a* MSS. generally, words denoting numbers are nearly always written, either in full, as *sex* (i, 19, § 2), or, much more often, in an abbreviated form, as ^{cm} xv., ^{ti} xx. (i, 31, § 5), etc. In ii, 3, § 2 ⁱ ⁱ *popli romani* occurs instead of the usual *P R*. Most of the marginal readings and corrections appear to be not much later than the date of the MS.

In every column the figures on the left denote chapter and section; the figures in brackets denote the pages of Meusel's edition and the lines of each chapter. Where *L* agrees with another MS. or group of MSS. I have given the symbols in brackets after the various readings. It may be useful to reproduce Meusel's explanation of his *apparatus criticus*, which I have followed:—

'*B*¹ *h*¹ significat primae manus scripturam.

*B*² *h*² significat secundae manus scripturam.

B^a *h*^a significat id quod prima manu scriptum fuit (ubi idem librarius aliquid mutavit).

B^b *h*^b significat id quod primae manus correctioni debetur.

B^m *h*^m significat id quod in margine (m. 2) scriptum est.'

The *subscriptions* are as follows (the words which I have underlined being crossed out in the MS.):—at the end of the First Commentary, C. IVLII CAESARIS HISTORIAE BELLI GALLICI A SE CONFECTI LIBER PRIMVS EXIT. IVLIVS CELSVS CONSTANTINVS VIR CLARISSIMVS LEGI; at the end of the Second, C. IVLII CAESARIS BELLI GALLICI A SE CONFECTI LIBER SECVNDVS EXIT. IVLIVS CELSVS CONSTANTINVS VC LEGI. FLAVIVS LICERIVS FIRMINVS LVPICINVS LEGI. INCIPIT LIBER TERTIVS; at the end of the Third, GAI IVLII CAESARIS HISTORIAE BELLI GALLICI A SE CONFECTI LIBER TERTIVS EXPLICIT. IVLIVS CELSVS CONSTANTINVS VC LEGI. INCIPIT LIBER QVARTVS; at the end of the Fourth, C. IVLII CAESARIS BELLI GALLICI A SE CONFECTI LIBER IIII. EXIT. IVLIVS CELSVS CONSTANTINVS VC. LEGI. INCIPIT LIBER QVINTVS; at the end of the Fifth, C. IVLII CAESARIS BELLI GALLICI A SE CONFECTI LIBER V. EXPLICIT. IVLIVS CELSVS CONSTANTINVS VC. LEGI.

INCIPIT LIBER VI; at the end of the Sixth, C. IVLII CAESARIS HISTORIAE BELLI GALLICI LIBER VI. EXIT. IVLIVS CELSVS CONSTANTINVS VIR CLARISSIMVS LEGI. INCIPIT LIBER SEPTIMVS; at the end of the Seventh, C. IVLII CAESARIS BELLI GALLICI A SE CONFECTI LIBER VII. EXPLICIT. IVL. CELSVS. VC. LEGI COMMENTARIOS CAESARIS. PROLOGVS Q. HIRTII PANSAE; at the end of the Praefatio of the Eighth, Q. HIRTII PANSAE LIB. VIII. INCIPIT DE BELLO GALLICO; at the end of the Eighth, C. CAESARIS PONTIFICIS MAXIMI EPHEMERIS RERVM GESTARVM BELLI GALLICI LIB. VIII. EXPLICIT FELICITER. IVL. CELSVS CONSTANTINVS. VC. LEGI TANTVM. INCIPIT LIBER NONVS.

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. D. T. B. Wood of the British Museum, whom I consulted whenever I was in doubt.

I.			
MEUSEL	Lov.	MEUSEL	Lov.
7, 1 (5, 4) Genavam .	genuam (X)	16, 1 (10, 1) Haeduos .	heduos
7, 2 (5, 7) Genavam .	genuam (X)	16, 3 (10, 6) Arari .	arare (X)
7, 3 (5, 9) Nammeius .	nammeus	„ (10, 7) uti minus .	minus uti
„ (5, 10) principem .	principum (ap)	„ („) Arari .	arare (X)
8, 2 (5, 8) posset .	possent	16, 4 (10, 9) Haedui .	hedui
9, 2 (6, 3) possent .	poterant (X)	16, 5 (10, 13) praerat .	praerant (X)
9, 3 (6, 9) suo .	sub	16, 6 (10, 16) possit .	posset (X)
9, 4 (6, 12) perficit .	perfecit (MCβ)	17, 1 (11, 2) antea .	ante
10, 1 (6, 1) nuntiatur .	renuntiatur (XC)	17, 2 (11, 6) debeant praes- tare	praestare debeant (X)
10, 2 (6, 5) intellegebat .	intellegat	17, 3 (11, 8) possint .	possent (X)
„ (6, 6) ut homines .	homines ut	„ (11, 9) debere .	debeant (X)
10, 3 (6, 9) praeficit .	praefecit (X)	17, 5 (11, 11) isdem .	iisdem (Mah)
„ (6, 13) his .	iis (ah)	„ („) nostra .	noua
10, 5 (7, 16) his .	iis (ah)	17, 6 (11, 13) necessariam .	necessario
„ (7, 19) Segusiavos .	sebusianos (X)	„ (11, 14) id cum .	om.
11, 6 (7, 16) Santonos .	santonos		quae corr.
12, 2 (7, 5) est .	om.	18, 1 (11, 4) ea quae .	ea
„ (8, 8) legionibus tribus	tribus legionibus	18, 3 (11, 8) complures .	compluris (X)
12, 7 (8, 20) soceri .	om.	„ (11, 9) omnia .	om.
13, 1 (8, 2) Arari .	arare (X)	„ (11, 10) liceri .	licere (a)
13, 2 (8, 5) fecisse .	om.	18, 6 (12, 15) Biturigibus .	uiturigibus (aa[I])
13, 3 (8, 8) egit .	agit	18, 9 (12, 25) habeat .	habebat
	(agit.) legati ad caesarem ab hel- uetiis missi pa- cem petitum. cum denuntia- tione terroris(ap)	18, 10 (12, 26) in quaerendo .	inquirendo (π)
13, 6 (9, 17) contenderent quam dolo	quam dolo con- tenderent (X)	19, 1 (12, 7) animadvertere .	aduertere
13, 7 (9, 18) committeret .	committerent	19, 2 (12, 8) Diviciaci fratris	fratris diuitiaci
„ (9, 20) exercitus .	om.	„ (12, 9) Romanum .	om.
14, 1 (9, 4) accidissent .	accidisset (φβ)	19, 3 (13, 14) Troucillum .	troaucillum (ap)
14, 3 (9, 10) Haeduos .	heduos	20, 2 (13, 4) gratia plurimum	plurimum gratia
„ (9, 11) memoriam .	memoria (φβ)	„ (13, 6) crevisset .	creuisse
14, 4 (9, 12) tam diu se .	se tam diu	20, 5 (13, 15) finem orandi faciat	faciat finem orandi
„ (9, 13) intulisse .	tulisse (X)	20, 6 (13, 18) reprehendat .	reprehendit (Mβ)
14, 6 (9, 18) ab iis sibi .	sibi ab iis	21, 1 (14, 3) qualis .	quales (?) (EMh[I])
„ (9, 20) intulerint .	intulerant	„ (14, 4) cognoscerent .	cognosceret (X)
„ (9, 21) esse .	om.	21, 2 (14, 6) iis .	his (X)
15, 1 (10, 3) Haeduis .	heduis	21, 4 (14, 10) P. (Considius) .	om.
„ (10, 5) hostes iter .	iter hostes	„ (14, 11) Sullae .	sillae
15, 3 (10, 9) propulerant .	propulerunt	22, 2 (14, 6) a .	om.
		22, 4 (14, 16) renuntiavisse .	renuntiasse
		23, 1 (15, 6) ac .	om.
		24, 1 (15, 2) subduxit .	subducit (X)
		24, 2 (15, 4) veteranarum .	ueteranorum (X)
		24, 3 (15, 8) iis .	his (X)

MEUSEL	LOV.
25, 2 (15, 5) destructis . .	districtis
25, 3 (15, 8) inflexisset . .	inflexisset (<i>X</i>)
25, 5 (16, 12) aberat . .	suberat (<i>X</i>)
„ („) passus . .	passuum (<i>X</i>)
25, 6 (16, 14) Boi . .	boii (<i>X</i>)
„ („) circiter . .	<i>om.</i>
„ (16, 16) circumvenire . .	circumuenere (<i>all MSS. except Qh¹</i>)
25, 7 (16, 19) conversa . .	<i>om.</i>
„ („) bipertito . .	bipetra (bipertito <i>marg.</i>)
26, 1 (16, 2) sustinere nos- trorum impe- tus	nostrorum impe- tus sustinere
26, 3 (16, 6) aversum . .	aduersum (<i>X</i>)
„ (16, 9) raedas . .	rotas (<i>X</i>)
27, 2 (17, 4) tum . .	tunc (π)
27, 4 (17, 8) hominum milia	milia sex homi- VI . . num
28, 3 (17, 9) iis . .	his (<i>X</i>)
28, 4 (18, 13) < ex > . .	e (M^2 ; <i>om. X</i>)
28, 5 (18, 18) parem . .	partem (<i>X</i>)
„ („) condicionem . .	condicione (<i>X</i>)
29, 2 (18, 6) milium . .	milia (<i>X</i>)
„ (18, 7) milium . .	milia (<i>X</i>)
29, 3 (18, 10) domum . .	domo (<i>ap</i>)
30, 4 (19, 12) indicere . .	indiceret
31, 3 (19, 9) est . .	<i>om.</i>
31, 8 (20, 27) se . .	<i>om.</i>
„ (20, 29) se ex civitate . .	ex ciuitate se
31, 12 (20, 44) ad Magetobri- gam	admagetrobiae
„ (20, 46) poscere . .	petere
„ (20, 48) facta . .	factum
31, 13 (20, 50) sustineri . .	sustinere (<i>all MSS. except SB²</i>)
31, 14 („) nisi . .	nisi si (<i>all MSS. except A¹M¹β</i>)
31, 16 (21, 59) traducatur . .	reducatur (<i>Mp</i>)
32, 1 (21, 1) ab . .	a
32, 2 (21, 3) unos . .	unus (<i>X</i>)
32, 5 (21, 14) fugae . .	<i>om.</i>
33, 2 (21, 8) a . .	ab
„ (21, 9) in . .	<i>om.</i>
„ (21, 11) et . .	ac
„ (22, 12) esse . .	<i>om.</i>
33, 4 (22, 15) temperaturos . .	obtemperaturos (<i>X</i>)
„ (22, 16) ante . .	ante <i>marg.</i>
34, 1 (22, 2) uti . .	ut
34, 3 (22, 9) molimento . .	emolumento (<i>X</i>)
34, 4 (22, 1) omnino . .	<i>om.</i>
35, 1 (22, 2) relatis . .	legatis
35, 2 (22, 7) discendum . .	dicendum (<i>X</i>)
35, 3 (22, 9) ne quam . .	neque
„ (23, 10) Galliam . .	Gallia
35, 4 (23, 16) M. (Pisone) . .	I
36, 1 (23, 2) iis . .	his (<i>X</i>)
„ (23, 3) item . .	idem (<i>X</i>)
36, 5 (23, 14) iis . .	his (<i>X</i>)
37, 1 (24, 1) Haec . .	haec autem
37, 5 (24, 12) celerrime . .	celeberrime
38, 1 (24, 5) processisse . .	profecisse (<i>a</i>)

MEUSEL	LOV.
38, 3 (24, 8) facultas . .	difficultas (<i>X</i>)
38, 4 („) idemque . .	idque (<i>X</i>)
„ (24, 9) daret facultatem	‘facultatem ‘face- tem
38, 5 (24, 13) eius . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>a</i>)
39, 2 (25, 11) Caesarem secuti	secuti caesarem
39, 3 (25, 14) discedere . .	discederet (<i>an at- tempt has been made to erase t</i>)
39, 5 (25, 20) ii . .	hi (<i>X</i>)
„ (25, 21) quique . .	ut quisque (<i>a</i>)
39, 6 (25, 24) et . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>a</i>)
39, 7 (25, 27) nuntiabant . .	nuntiarant (<i>a</i>)
„ („) ac . .	aut
40, 1 (26, 2) consilio . .	concilio ($B^2 \beta$)
40, 5 (26, 16) meritis . .	meritis esse
„ (26, 18) quam . .	quae (<i>a</i>)
40, 6 (26, 19) posse . .	posset (<i>X</i>)
„ (26, 20) inermes . .	inermos (<i>a</i>)
40, 7 (26, 22) Germanos . .	<i>om.</i> (ρ)
40, 8 (26, 26) hos . .	hoc (<i>a</i>)
„ („) reperire . .	reperiri
40, 9 (27, 32) hac . .	ac (<i>X</i>)
40, 10 (27, 34) conferrent . .	conferret ($a\pi$)
40, 12 (27, 40) se ea re . .	ea re se
„ (27, 43) convictam . .	conuinctam (<i>X</i>)
40, 13 (27, 44) perpetua vita . .	perpetua uitae (<i>X</i>) (<i>a uit is written on an erasure</i>)
„ („) felicitatem . .	felicitate ($a\pi$)
40, 14 (27, 48) plus . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>a</i>)
41, 3 (28, 8) neque . .	nec (<i>a</i>)
41, 4 (28, 11) Gallis . .	aliis (<i>X</i>)
41, 5 (28, 15) certior . .	certior <i>marg.</i>
„ (28, 16) milia . .	milibus (<i>X</i>)
42, 1 (28, 4) existimaret . .	existimare (<i>a</i>)
42, 4 (28, 10) cum legati ultro citroque	ultra citroque cum legati (<i>a</i>)
„ (28, 11) ne quem . .	neque
42, 5 (29, 16) equitatus . .	equitibus
42, 6 (29, 22) Caesarem . .	caesarem ei (<i>a</i>)
43, 1 (29, 2) aequum . .	aequo (<i>aa</i>)
„ („) spatium . .	spatio (<i>aa</i>)
„ („) a . .	ab (<i>a</i>)
43, 2 (29, 4) devexerat . .	uexerat (<i>a</i>)
43, 3 (29, 7) denos . .	denos ut (<i>a</i>)
„ (29, 8) adducerent . .	adduceret (<i>a</i>)
43, 4 (29, 11) amplissima . .	amplissime (<i>a</i>)
43, 7 (30, 17) quotiens quam- que	quotienscunque
„ (30, 18) in eos facta . .	facta in eos
43, 8 (30, 21) sui . .	suis (<i>a</i>)
„ („) nihil . .	<i>marg.</i>
„ (30, 22) auctiores . .	auctos
„ („) vellet . .	uelit (<i>X</i>)
„ (30, 23) iis . .	his (<i>al</i>)
43, 9 (30, 24) deinde . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>a</i>)
„ (30, 25) Haeduis . .	heduis
44, 2 (30, 3) sese . .	<i>om.</i> (π)
44, 4 (30, 11) pulsas ac . .	<i>om.</i>
44, 5 (30, 16) atque . .	idque (<i>X</i>)
44, 6 (31, 20) oppugnandae . .	impugnandae (<i>a</i>)

MEUSEL	LOV.
44, 6 (, ,) hac . . .	ea (φ)
„ (31, 17) dediticii . . .	deditio
44, 8 (31, 29) quod . . .	qui
44, 9 (31, 30) a senatu . . .	om. (a)
„ (, ,) se tam barba- rum	tam barbarum se
„ (31, 33) ipsos . . .	ipsis (ap) <i>in ras.</i>
44, 10 (31, 36) quem . . .	quod (X)
44, 11 (31, 38) pro hoste . . .	hoste (a)
44, 13 (31, 43) decessisset . . .	discessisset (a)
„ (, ,) possessionem . . .	sibi possessionem
Galliae sibi	Galliae
45, 1 (32, 1) a . . .	ab (a)
„ (32, 2) non . . .	om.
„ (, ,) posset . . .	posset et (a)
„ (32, 4) uti . . .	uti (i <i>was added by a later hand</i>)
„ (, ,) meritos . . .	merentes (a)
45, 3 (32, 9) quodque . . .	quoque (φ)
46, 3 (32, 7) ullo . . .	om.
46, 4 (32, 13) diremisset . . .	ut diremisset (a)
47, 1 (33, 1) misit . . .	mittit (a)
„ (33, 2) iis . . .	his (all MSS. ex- cept <i>h</i>)
„ (33, 4) ex . . .	e (a)
„ (33, 5) aliquem . . .	om.
47, 2 (33, 7) potuerant . . .	poterant (X)
„ (, ,) tela in nostros . . .	in nostros tela (a)
47, 3 (33, 8) ex . . .	e (a)
47, 4 (33, 10) C. Valerii . . .	conualeri (<i>B¹MQ</i> [a])
„ (33, 11) Caburi . . .	cabuli
„ (33, 16) una . . .	om. (a)
„ (, ,) M. Metium . . .	marium titium (a)
48, 1 (33, 2) Caesaris castris . . .	castris caesaris
48, 3 (34, 7) pro castris . . .	om.
48, 7 (34, 19) sublevati equo- rum	equorum subleuati (X)
49, 3 (34, 8) hominum . . .	hominum numero (a)
„ (34, 9) terrent . . .	deterrent
49, 4 (34, 11) constituerat . . .	constituerant
50, 1 (35, 1) ex . . .	e (a)
„ (35, 3) hostibusque . . .	hostibus (a)
50, 2 (35, 4) eos . . .	om.
„ (, ,) meridie . . .	meridiem (X)
51, 1 (35, 1) praesidio . . .	praesidium (a)
„ (35, 2) alarios omnes . . .	omnis alarios (a)
„ (35, 3) quod . . .	quo (X)
51, 2 (35, 8) constituerunt . . .	constiterunt
„ (35, 9) Tribocos . . .	tribocos (a)
„ (35, 10) raedis . . .	redis
51, 3 (36, 12) ad . . .	in (a)
„ (, ,) milites . . .	om. (af)
„ (36, 13) manibus . . .	crinibus
52, 5 (36, 10) nostri . . .	nostri milites (a)
„ (36, 11) phalanga . . .	phalanges
52, 6 (36, 13) coniecta . . .	conuersa (a)
52, 7 (36, 16) ii . . .	hi (X)
53, 1 (36, 2) nec . . .	neque
„ (36, 4) pervenerunt . . .	peruenerunt (a)
53, 2 (36, 5) sibi salutem . . .	salutem sibi re- ppererunt

MEUSEL	LOV.
53, 3 (37, 7) consecuti equi- tes	equitatu consecuti (a)
53, 4 (37, 11) utraque . . .	utraeque (a)
„ (, ,) periit . . .	perierunt (a)
53, 5 (37, 15) insequentem . . .	persequentem (a)
53, 6 (37, 18) ex . . .	e (a)
„ (, ,) videbat . . .	uiderat (a)
„ (37, 20) deminuerat . . .	diminuerat (φ)
53, 7 (37, 21) ter sortibus . . .	tergoribus (a)
„ (37, 23) se esse . . .	esse se
54, 1 (37, 3) Ubii . . .	ubi (X)
„ (37, 4) iis . . .	his (X)

II.

1, 1 (38, 2) supra . . .	superius
1, 3 (38, 9) ut . . .	om. (all MSS. ex- cept <i>B²SQ</i>)
„ (38, 11) moleste . . .	om.
1, 4 (38, 13) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (38, 15) imperio . . .	in imperio (<i>BMQ^b</i>)
„ (, ,) nostro . . .	non
2, 1 (38, 2) ulteriorem . . .	interiorem (a)
2, 3 (38, 7) cognoscant . . .	agnoscant
2, 6 (39, 11) provisa . . .	comparata (a)
3, 1 (39, 2) omnium . . .	omni (X)
„ (39, 3) Iccium . . .	siccium (X)
„ (39, 4) Andebrogium . . .	andocumborium (ap)
3, 2 (39, 5) potestatem . . .	in potestatem (a)
„ (39, 6) reliquis Belgis . . .	belgis reliquis (a)
3, 5 (39, 14) isdem . . .	iisdem
4, 1 (39, 1) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (39, 3) a . . .	ab (a)
4, 2 (39, 7) suos fines . . .	fines suos (a)
4, 5 (40, 16) milia . . .	om. (a)
4, 7 (40, 18) fines . . .	om. (a)
„ (40, 19) Diviciacum . . .	deuiciacum (a)
„ (40, 21) Britanniae . . .	britanniae
„ (40, 23) summam totius belli	suam totius belli summam (a)
4, 9 (40, 27) Caletos X milia, Veliocasses et Viromandos totidem	uelocasses et uero- manduos totidem caletos x.
„ (40, 29) Atuatuco XVIII milia	catuacos xix
4, 10 (, ,) Condrusos . . .	condruosos (a)
„ (, ,) Caerosos . . .	caeroesos (a)
„ (40, 30) Caemanos . . .	paemanos (a)
5, 3 (41, 10) a . . .	ab (φ)
5, 4 (41, 12) abesse . . .	om.
„ (, ,) iis . . .	his (X)
5, 5 (41, 17) erant . . .	essent (a)
„ (41, 19) possent . . .	posset (a)
5, 6 (41, 21) altitudinem . . .	altitudine (X)
6, 1 (41, 23) muniri . . .	munire (X)
6, 2 (41, 4) est haec: ubi . . .	est. Haec ubi (φ)
„ (41, 5) undique . . .	om.
„ (41, 6) in murum lap- ides	lapides in murum
„ (41, 7) succedunt . . .	succedunt (X)
6, 3 (42, 9) coicerent . . .	coniecerunt

MEUSEL	LOV.	MEUSEL	LOV.
6, 4 (42, 12) praeerat .	prae fuerat <i>in ras.</i> (X)	17, 5 (48, 23) existimaverunt.	estimauerunt
„ („) unus .	unum (X)	18, 1 (48, 2) locum .	<i>om.</i>
„ („) ex iis .	<i>om.</i>	„ („) nostri castris .	castris nostri
„ (42, 13) nuntios .	nuntium (X)	19, 2 (48, 4) hostibus .	hostis (a)
7, 1 (42, 1) Caesar .	caesari	19, 6 (49, 18) ordinesque .	ordinemque
7, 3 (42, 8) quo .	quot <i>u corr.</i>	„ („) constituerant .	ita constituerant (a)
„ („) potuerant .	poterant (pote- rant β)	20, 2 (49, 7) incursus .	successus (a)
„ („) omnibus .	cum omnibus	21, 3 (50, 7) adigi .	adici (a)
„ (42, 9) a .	ab (απ)	21, 5 (50, 12) scutisque .	scutis
8, 2 (43, 10) in fronte .	in frontem (a)	„ (50, 13) detrahenda .	detrudenda (XSM ²)
„ (43, 11) fastigatus .	castigatus cas- tratus (a)	22, 1 (50, 1) deiectusque .	delectusque (X)
„ („) redibat .	rediebat (a)	„ (50, 3) diversae legi- ones	diuersis legionibus (X)
8, 4 (43, 15) ab .	α	23, 1 (51, 4) his .	iis (φβ)
„ („) pugnantes suos .	suos pugnantes	23, 2 (51, 7) flumen .	flumen <i>marg.</i>
8, 5 (43, 20) instruxerunt .	instruxerant (X)	23, 3 (51, 11) Viromanduis .	ueromanduis
9, 2 (43, 6) transeundi ini- tium	initium transeundi	„ („) congressu .	congressi (X)
9, 5 (43, 13) si .	sin	23, 4 (51, 13) at totis .	Attonitis (a)
„ („) potuissent .	possent	„ („) castris .	<i>om.</i> (a)
10, 1 (43, 2) ponte .	pontem (X)	„ („) et a .	et ab (a)
10, 3 (44, 7) primosque .	primos (a) <i>s corr.</i>	„ (51, 14) cum .	castris quo (a)
10, 4 (44, 12) concilio .	concilio	„ (51, 18) castrorum locum	locum castrorum
11, 4 (44, 14) agmine .	ordine	24, 1 (51, 4) aliam in .	in aliam
11, 5 (45, 7) sibi praesidium	praesidium sibi	24, 2 (51, 5) ab .	<i>om.</i> (a)
11, 6 (45, 21) occasum .	occasumque (a)	„ (51, 9) fugae sese .	sese fugae
„ („) sequi .	<i>om.</i> (a)	24, 4 (52, 13) a .	ab (a)
13, 1 (45, 4) accipit .	accepit (X)	„ (52, 14) missi ad Caesar- em	ad caesarem missi
13, 2 (45, 5) Bratuspantium .	bratuspantium	„ (52, 15) castra nostra	castra compleri, nostras (a)
„ (45, 6) milia .	<i>om.</i> (a)	„ (52, 16) dispersos .	diuersos (X)
14, 3 (46, 5) a .	ab	25, 1 (52, 3) confertos milites	milites confertos
14, 4 (46, 9) Britanniam .	britanniam	„ (52, 4) esse impedi- mento	impedimento esse
14, 5 (46, 11) his .	iis (φ)	„ (52, 5) signifero .	signiferoque (a)
14, 6 (46, 14) sustentare .	sustentari	„ (52, 8) primipilo .	primipili
15, 1 (46, 3) et .	<i>om.</i> (a)	„ (52, 10) deserto .	desertos (<i>all MSS.</i> <i>except A</i>)
„ (46, 4) magna .	magna et	25, 3 (53, 21) in .	<i>om.</i> (a)
15, 2 (46, 6) conlatis .	collocatis	26, 2 (53, 5) aliis .	alius (a)
15, 4 (46, 10) esse aditum .	‘esse ‘aditum (a)	„ („) ferrent .	ferret (a)
„ (46, 11) ad luxuriam pertinentium	<i>om.</i> (a)	26, 4 (53, 12) gererentur	gereretur
„ („) his .	iis (a)	27, 1 (53, 2) est facta .	facta est
16, 1 (47, 2) a .	ab (a)	„ (53, 4) calones .	tum calones (a)
16, 2 (47, 5) Atrebatibus .	atrebatis (a)	„ („) armatis .	armati
„ („) Viromanduis .	ueromanduis (a)	„ (53, 5) occurrerent	occurrerunt (a)
16, 4 (47, 7) iis .	his (X)	27, 2 (53, 6) pugnando .	pugnabant quo
17, 1 (47, 2) castris idoneum	idoneum castris (a)	27, 5 (54, 13) deberet .	deberent (X)
17, 2 (47, 3) Caesarem .	caesarem <i>marg.</i>	„ („) esse .	sese
„ (47, 5) itineris .	<i>om.</i>	28, 1 (54, 4) coniectos .	collectos (X)
„ (47, 6) his .	iis (φh)	29, 1 (54, 1) diximus .	scripsimus (a)
„ (47, 8) esse .	sese	29, 3 (54, 5) in circuitu par- tibus	partibus in circu- itu
„ (47, 9) castra .	castris	„ (54, 6) deiectusque .	despectusque (X)
17, 4 (47, 12) adiuvabat .	adiuuabant (a)	„ (54, 7) latitudinem .	altitudinem (a)
„ (48, 14) cum .	<i>om.</i> (a)	„ („) pedum CC .	ducentorum pe- dum (a)
„ (48, 18) inflexis cre- brisque	<i>om.</i> (a)	29, 4 (55, 15) reliquerant .	reliquerunt (X)
„ (48, 20) munimentum .	munimenta	29, 5 (55, 18) delegerant .	delegerunt (X)
„ („) non intrari .	intrari (a ² l ² , ed. 1)	30, 2 (55, 4) XII .	<i>om.</i> (a)
„ (48, 21) posset .	possit (a)		<i>procul corr.</i>
17, 5 (48, 22) sibi .	<i>om.</i> (a)	30, 3 (55, 6) procul constitui	constitui

MEUSEL	LOV.
30, 3 (55, 8) a . . .	ab (a)
30, 4 (55, 12) muro . .	muros (a)
31, 1 (55, 1) muris . .	moenibus (a)
„ („) atque . . .	et
31, 2 (55, 3) se . . .	om. (a)
„ (55, 4) deorum . .	diuina (a)
32, 3 (56, 7) renuntiata .	nuntiata (X)
33, 1 (56, 3) a . . .	ab (a)
33, 2 (56, 6) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (57, 10) repente . .	repentino (a)
33, 3 (57, 12) imperaverat .	imperarat (a)
33, 4 (57, 16) spes . . .	spes salutis (a)
33, 5 (57, 17) milibus IIII .	milia quattuor
„ („) oppidum . . .	oppido
33, 7 (57, 20) iis . . .	his (X)
34 (57, 2) Venellos . .	unellos (X)
„ („) Coriosolitas . .	curiosolitas (φ)
„ („) Esuvios . . .	sesuuios (X)
„ (57, 3) Redones . .	rhedones (a a ^h)
„ (57, 5) dicionem . .	deditionem (af)
35, 1 (57, 2) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (57, 3) legati ad Caesarem mitterentur	mitterentur legati ad caesarem (a)
„ (57, 4) qui . . .	quae
35, 2 (57, 5) Illyricumque .	illyricumque (χβ)
35, 3 (58, 7) Turonos quaeque	turonisque quae (φπ)
„ („) propincae iis	his locis propin-
locis erant	quae erant
„ (58, 9) hiberna . .	hibernacula (a)
	(cula in marg.)
35, 4 (58, 10) dierum . .	dies (X)

III.

1, 1 (58, 2) Veragros Sedunosque	sedunos corr. ueragrosque
„ (58, 3) a . . .	ab (φ)
1, 2 (58, 6) consuerant . .	consueuerant (π)
„ (58, 8) uti . . .	ut
1, 4 (58, 10) undique . .	om.
„ (58, 14) Octodurus . .	octodorus (SB ² β) simis corr.
1, 5 (58, 15) altissimis . .	altis
„ („) undique . . .	om.
1, 6 (59, 16) hic . . .	hinc (aa)
„ („) flumini . . .	flumen (a)
2, 3 (59, 9) eam . . .	tam (a)
„ (59, 11) absentibus . .	om. (a)
2, 4 (59, 14) impetum suum posse	posse impetum suum (a)
„ („) sustineri . . .	sustinere (φ)
3, 1 (59, 2) plene essent . .	essent plene
3, 3 (60, 11) eius . . .	huius (a)
„ (60, 12) isdem . . .	iisdem
4, 1 (60, 1) iis . . .	om. (a)
„ (60, 3) gaesaeque . .	caesaeque (a)
4, 2 (60, 5) propugnare . .	repugnare (a)
„ (60, 6) et quaecumque .	ut quaeque (a)
5, 1 (60, 3) nostros . . .	nostris (X)
5, 3 (61, 14) dato signo . .	signo dato
6, 3 (61, 11) intra munitiones	in castra munitionesque (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
7, 1 (62, 4) Illyricum . .	illyricum (χβ)
„ (62, 5) regiones . . .	om.
7, 2 (62, 6) eius belli haec	om.
fuit causa	
„ (62, 7) mare . . .	mari
„ („) Oceanum . . .	oceano
„ (62, 8) hiemabat . .	hiemauerat (SB ^b M ^b)
7, 4 (62, 11) Esuvios . .	esubios in ras.
„ (62, 12) Coriosolitas . .	curiosolitas (a)
„ („) Silio . . .	sillio (X)
8, 1 (62, 1) civitatis longe amplissima	amplissimae ciuitatis longe
„ (62, 3) Veneti plurimas	plurimas ueneti
„ (62, 4) rerum nauticarum	nauticarum reliquos (a)
„ (62, 6) aperti . . .	aperto (X)
8, 2 (62, 8) fit . . .	fuit
„ („) Sillii . . .	sillii (X)
„ („) Velanii . . .	uellanii (φ)
8, 3 (62, 14) omnes . . .	omnis (X)
8, 4 (62, 16) acceperint . .	acceperant (a)
„ (63, 17) malint . . .	mallent (a) (the ll is written on an erasure).
8, 5 (63, 18) celeriter ad suam sententiam	ad suam sententiam celeriter
„ (63, 19) recuperare . .	recipere (a)
9, 1 (63, 1) a . . .	ab (a)
„ (63, 3) Ligeri . . .	ligere (a)
9, 3 (63, 11) ab . . .	a
„ („) vincula . . .	uincla (φQhl ²)
9, 6 (63, 18) acciderent . .	acciderant (φA)
9, 7 (63, 23) atque apertissimo	om. (χ) (in the margin is written, by a later hand, with reference to uastissimo, aut apertissimo)
9, 9 (64, 26) gesturum . .	esse gesturum
9, 10 (64, 27) Osismos . .	ossismos (φ)
„ (64, 28) Lexovios . .	lexobios (a)
„ („) Diablintes . .	diablintres (a)
10, 1 (64, 2) tamen multa .	multa tamen
10, 2 (64, 3) iniuria . . .	iniuriae (a)
„ (64, 6) sibi idem . . .	idem sibi
11, 1 (64, 2) flumini Rheno .	Rheno flumini
11, 2 (64, 4) Gallis . . .	belgis (a)
11, 4 (64, 9) Sabinum . . .	om.
„ (64, 10) Venellos . .	unellos (X)
„ („) Coriosolitas . .	curiosolites (a)
„ (65, 11) Lexovios . .	lexobios (a)
11, 5 (65, 13) Pictonibus . .	pectonibus (X)
„ (65, 14) possit . . .	posset (X)
„ (65, 15) copiis contendit	contendit copiis
12, 3 (65, 7) operis . . .	om.
„ (65, 9) desperare fortunis suis	suis fortunis desperare (a)
„ („) numero navium	navium numero
„ (65, 11) recipiebant . .	reiciebant
12, 4 (65, 12) isdem . . .	iisdem
12, 5 (65, 15) magnis . . .	magno (φ)

MEUSEL	LOV.
13, 4 (65, 8) ex . . .	<i>om.</i> (a)
13, 6 (66, 10) alutae . . .	salute (a)
„ (66, 11) inopiam lini . . .	lini inopiam (a)
„ (66, 13) sustineri . . .	sustinere (a)
„ (66, 14) onera . . .	opera (a)
13, 8 (66, 18) iis . . .	his (af)
„ (66, 19) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (66, 20) adigebatur . . .	adiciebatur (a[a]f)
„ (66, 21) copulis . . .	scopulis (X)
13, 9 (66, 22) saevire . . .	se saevire (a)
„ („) et se . . .	<i>om.</i> (a)
„ (66, 24) relictæ . . .	rei relictæ (a)
„ („) cotes . . .	cautes (a)
14, 1 (66, 3) iis . . .	his (β)
„ („) noceri . . .	nocere
14, 3 (67, 10) quam rationem . . .	qua ratione
14, 4 (67, 14) adigi . . .	adici (X)
„ („) a . . .	ab (a)
14, 5 (67, 15) magno . . .	magna
„ (67, 16) longuriis . . .	longuris (X)
„ (67, 17) muralium . . .	moralium
„ (67, 18) destinabant . . .	distinebant (ah ^l)
14, 7 (67, 21) consisteret . . .	esset
14, 8 (67, 26) paulo . . .	<i>om.</i>
14, 9 (67, 27) erat . . .	<i>om.</i>
15, 1 (67, 1) Deiectis . . .	disiectis (X)
15, 3 (67, 8) malacia . . .	malina(?) (inacorr.)
„ (67, 9) movere . . .	commouere (a)
15, 5 (68, 11) consecrati . . .	consecuti
„ (68, 12) pervenirent . . .	peruenerint (a)
16, 4 (68, 8) Caesari . . .	caesari marg.
17, 1 (68, 3) Venellorum . . .	unellorum (X)
17, 2 („) his . . .	Is
17, 3 (68, 6) his . . .	iis (a)
17, 4 (68, 10) convenerat . . .	conuenerant (MQ')
„ (68, 12) sevocabat . . .	reuocabat (X)
17, 5 (68, 13) duorum . . .	duum (a)
„ (69, 16) Sabinus . . .	sabinus marg.
„ (69, 17) vocibus . . .	<i>om.</i>
17, 7 (69, 19) de causa faciebat . . .	faciebat de causa
18, 1 (69, 1) Hac . . .	ac (a)
„ (69, 3) iis . . .	his (X)
18, 6 (69, 15) iis . . .	his (X)
18, 7 (69, 18) concilio . . .	consilio
„ („) iis . . .	his (X)
19, 3 (70, 9) primum . . .	unum (X)
19, 4 (70, 11) quos . . .	quos impeditos (a)
19, 5 (70, 15) est certior . . .	certior est
19, 6 (70, 18) ferendas . . .	perferendas (a)
20, 1 (70, 3) est tertia pars . . .	ex tertia parte (X)
„ (70, 4) iis . . .	his (a)
„ (70, 7) Manlius . . .	mallius (a)
20, 2 (71, 11) et Carcasone et Narbone . . .	et marg. narbona
„ (71, 13) Sotiatium . . .	sontiatium (a)
20, 3 (71, 14) Sotiates . . .	sontiates (aπ)
„ (71, 15) agmen nostrum . . .	nostrum agmen
20, 4 (71, 18) hi . . .	Ii (BM)
21, 1 (71, 1) Pugnatum . . .	pugnatumque
„ (71, 2) atque . . .	<i>om.</i>
„ („) Sotiates . . .	sontiates (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
21, 1 (71, 3) putarent . . .	putarent marg.
„ (71, 4) nostri . . .	nihil
„ (71, 6) tandem . . .	tamen (X)
„ („) verterunt . . .	uertere (a)
21, 2 (71, 8) Sotiatium . . .	sontiatium (a)
21, 3 (71, 9) alias . . .	<i>om.</i>
„ (71, 13) nihil his rebus . . .	his rebus nihil
22, 1 (71, 2) eam rem . . .	ea re (X)
„ (71, 3) Adiatunus . . .	adiatunus
22, 2 (72, 5) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (72, 6) his . . .	iis (a)
„ (72, 7) per vim . . .	per uim marg.
22, 3 (72, 10) mortem . . .	mori (a)
„ („) Adiatunus . . .	adiatunus
23, 1 (72, 1) Vocatium . . .	uocaturum (aρ)
23, 2 (72, 4) erat . . .	erant
„ (72, 5) quoque versus . . .	quaqua uersum
„ (72, 6) inter se dare . . .	dare inter se
23, 4 (72, 9) [cum] hominum multitudinem . . .	hominum cum multitudine
23, 5 (72, 11) ii . . .	hi (φβ)
23, 6 (72, 13) hi . . .	In
23, 7 (72, 16) diduci . . .	deduci (X)
24, 1 (73, 2) instituta . . .	instructa
„ („) coniectis . . .	collectis (af)
24, 2 (73, 6) sine . . .	sine ullo (a)
24, 3 (73, 9) infirmiores . . .	infirmiore (a)
24, 5 (73, 12) timoris . . .	timidiores (X)
25, 1 (73, 1) multis telis coniectis . . .	multis corr. coniectis
„ (73, 8) acciderent . . .	accederent (a)
25, 2 (73, 9) esse . . .	<i>om.</i>
26, 2 (74, 3) devectis . . .	eductis (X)
„ (74, 6) ad pugnam . . .	ad pugnam marg.
26, 3 (74, 8) prorutis . . .	proruptis (X)
„ (74, 9) his . . .	iis (φ)
26, 5 (74, 14) contenderunt . . .	intenderunt (X)
26, 6 (74, 16) convenisse . . .	uenisse
27, 1 (74, 4) Elusates . . .	flustates (X)
„ („) Sibusates . . .	sibutzates (BM)
27, 2 (74, 6) id . . .	hoc (a)
28, 1 (74, 4) de pace . . .	<i>om.</i>
„ (75, 5) duxit . . .	adduxit (X)
28, 4 (75, 16) ex . . .	de
29, 1 (75, 5) utrumque . . .	utrimque
29, 2 (75, 7) a . . .	ab (a)
29, 3 (75, 12) reduxit . . .	perduxit (a)
„ (75, 13) Lexovii . . .	lexobiis (a)
„ (75, 14) proxime . . .	maxime (a)

IV.

1, 1 (76, 3) Tencteri . . .	tanctheri (φ)
1, 7 (76, 15) colendi . . .	incolendi
1, 9 (76, 20) faciunt . . .	faciant (X)
1, 10 (77, 24) pars aperta . . .	aperta pars
„ („) lavarentur . . .	lauantur (X)
2, 1 (77, 2) est . . .	est ad eos
2, 2 (77, 6) importatis . . .	importatis his (a)
„ („) parva . . .	praua (a)
„ (77, 8) sint . . .	<i>om.</i>
2, 4 (77, 12) ephippii . . .	ephippiis in ras. (etphippiis [a] marg.)

MEUSEL	LOV.
2, 6 (77, 14) omnino ad se .	ad se omnino (a)
„ („) patiuntur .	sinunt (a)
3, 1 (77, 2) esse laudem .	laudem esse
„ (77, 3) significari .	significare
	ta
3, 2 (77, 5) C .	de (a)
3, 3 (77, 7) ii .	et (X)
„ („) quamquam .	quam (X)
„ (77, 8) sunt .	et (X)
4, 1 (78, 1) Tencteri .	tenctheri (X)
„ (78, 2) complures .	cum plures (a)
4, 2 (78, 5) hi .	et (a)
4, 3 (78, 7) iis .	his (X)
„ (78, 8) habuerant .	habebant
„ („) demigraverant .	demigrauerunt (X)
4, 4 (78, 12) suas sedes .	sedes suas
4, 5 (78, 14) omni .	om.
„ („) equitatu confecto	confecto equitatu
5, 2 (79, 4) enim .	utem (Mf) (the a of autem is apparently written on an erasure)
„ (79, 5) quid .	quod (X)
„ (79, 6) re .	re marg.
„ (79, 8) ibi res .	res ibi
„ (79, 9) cogat .	cogant (a)
5, 3 (79, 10) ineunt .	ineant
6, 4 (79, 8) iam .	om.
„ (79, 9) Condruorum .	condruorum (a)
6, 5 (79, 10) evocatis .	uocatis (a)
„ (79, 11) permulsis et .	om.
7, 2 (79, 4) iis .	his (X)
7, 4 (80, 11) utiles esse .	esse utiles
7, 5 (80, 12) pares .	om.
8, 1 (80, 1) Caesar quae	quae uisum est
visum est	caesar (a)
„ (80, 2) iis .	his (a f)
8, 3 (80, 7) velint .	uellent
„ (80, 9) se Ubiis .	sueuis (S)
9, 1 (80, 2) re deliberata .	deliberata re
„ (80, 3) ad Caesarem .	om.
9, 3 (80, 6) iis .	his (X)
„ (80, 7) Ambivaritos .	ambiuarritos
10, 1 (80, 3) Vacalus .	ualus
„ („) insulam .	insulamque (X)
10, 2 (81, 4) inde .	ab oceano (X)
„ (81, 5) Oceanum .	rhenum (X)
10, 3 (81, 6) Nantuatium .	nantuanium
	([naut. M; nont. S] φ)
„ (81, 7) Tribocorum .	tribocorum (a)
10, 4 (81, 8) adpropinquavit	appropinquat
	(SM ² ah)
„ (81, 9) diffluit .	defluit (a)
10, 5 (81, 11) sunt .	om.
„ („) atque ovis .	ouisque
11, 1 (81, 1) milibus abesset	abesset milibus
„ (81, 3) magnopere .	om.
11, 2 (81, 5) equites .	om.
„ („) praetermitteret	praetermitterent
11, 3 (81, 8) iurando .	faciendo
„ („) fecisset .	fecissent (M ² Q ²)

MEUSEL	LOV.
11, 4 (81, 12) abessent .	aberant
12, 1 (82, 5) timentibus nos-	nostris timentibus
tris	
„ (82, 6) erat .	dictus erat
12, 2 (82, 8) his .	om. (a)
„ (82, 9) subfossisque .	suffossis
„ (82, 12) venissent .	uenirent
12, 4 (82, 15) a .	ab (ABM)
12, 5 (82, 17) illum ex periculo	ex periculo illum
„ („) ipse .	ipso
13, 1 (82, 2) iis .	his (XSβ)
13, 4 (83, 10) praetermitteret .	intermitteret
„ (83, 11) oportunissima .	oportunissime
„ (83, 12) simulatione et .	perfidia et simul-
perfidia	atione (a)
„ (83, 13) frequentes .	frequentibus
13, 5 (83, 15) purgandi sui .	sui purgandi (a)
13, 6 (83, 18) gavisus .	gravius (a)
„ („) illos .	om.
14, 2 (83, 8) petere .	petere marg.
14, 4 (83, 10) quo loco .	quo in loco
15, 2 (84, 6) vi .	et ui
15, 4 (84, 10) iis .	his (X)
16, 1 (84, 1) Germanico .	Germano
„ (84, 2) Rhenum esse .	esse rhenum
16, 2 (84, 7) Tencterorum .	tenctherorum
„ (84, 8) commemoravi .	memoravi
„ (84, 10) Sugambrorum .	sigambrorum
„ (84, 11) his .	iis (ABM)
16, 5 (84, 19) orabant .	postulabant
„ („) ab Suebis .	om.
	i i
16, 6 (84, 20) rei publicae .	P.R.
„ (85, 22) satis .	om.
16, 7 (85, 23) Ariovisto .	ariouisti
„ (85, 26) possent .	possint (X)
17, 4 (85, 12) festucis .	fistulis
17, 5 (85, 14) iis .	his (φβ)
17, 10 (86, 29) causa .	om. (a)
„ („) immissae .	missae (X)
18, 2 (86, 4) Sugambrorum .	sigambrorum (X)
18, 3 (86, 6) respondet .	respondit (a)
18, 4 (86, 7) at Sugambri .	Sigambri (a)
„ (86, 9) Tencteri .	tenctheris
19, 1 (86, 3) succisis .	succisis in ras.
„ (86, 4) his .	iis (a)
„ („) a .	ab (a)
19, 2 (86, 5) postea .	post
„ (86, 8) silvis .	siluas
19, 3 (87, 12) ibidem .	ibi (X)
19, 4 (87, 13) iis .	his (β)
„ (87, 15) Sugambros .	sigambros (A ² M ² a)
20, 1 (87, 2) septentriones .	septemtrionem (φ)
„ (87, 3) Britanniam .	britanniam
20, 2 (87, 7) adisset .	adisset et (a)
20, 3 (87, 10) adit .	adiit (a)
„ („) his .	iis (Aφp)
20, 4 (87, 12) vocatis .	conuocatis
„ (87, 16) maiorem .	maiorum (X)
„ („) portus .	om.
21, 2 (88, 4) ad se quam pri-	quam primum ad
mum	se
21, 3 (88, 6) Britanniam .	britanniam

MEUSEL.	Lov.
21, 4 (88, 8) fecerat . . .	effecerat (a)
21, 7 (88, 14) remittit . . .	remisit
„ (88, 17) magni . . .	magna (<i>Mf</i> ²)
21, 8 (88, 19) ut . . .	om. (φ)
21, 9 (88, 21) regionibus . . .	regionibus omni- bus (a)
„ („) ei . . .	et
„ („) facultatis . . .	facultas (<i>AS</i>)
22, 1 (88, 2) ad eum legati . . .	legati ad eum
„ (88, 6) pollicerentur . . .	pollicentur (a)
22, 2 (89, 9) tantularum . . .	tantarum (a)
22, 3 (89, 12) recipit . . .	recepit (a)
„ („) LXXX . . .	tis ta dccc/lxxx. (a)
„ (89, 13) quot . . .	quod (<i>X</i>)
„ (89, 14) transportandas legiones	legiones transpor- tandas
22, 4 (89, 16) a . . .	ab (a)
„ (89, 18) venire . . .	peruenire
22, 5 (89, 19) Titurio . . .	Q. titurio
„ („) Aurunculeio . . .	l. aurunculeio
„ (89, 20) a . . .	ab (a)
„ (89, 21) ducendum . . .	<i>margin.</i>
22, 6 (89, 21) Sulpicium . . .	P. sulpicium
23, 2 (89, 5) diei circiter . . .	circiter diei (a)
„ (89, 7) copias . . .	turmas
23, 3 (89, 8) anguste . . .	angustis (<i>X</i>)
23, 5 (90, 13) cognovisset . . .	cognosset (a)
„ (90, 15) maritimae . . .	mare tum hae
„ („) quae . . .	quam
23, 6 (90, 20) aperto . . .	om. (a)
24, 1 (90, 4) navibus egredi . . .	egredi nauibus
24, 2 (90, 8) pressis . . .	oppressis (a)
24, 3 (90, 11) expeditis . . .	expediti (φ)
24, 4 (90, 15) consuerant . . .	consueuerant (ue <i>is underlined in paler ink</i>)
25, 1 (90, 3) erat . . .	om. (a)
25, 2 (91, 9) etiam . . .	modo (<i>X</i>)
25, 3 (91, 11) obtestatus . . .	contestatus (a)
„ (91, 13) commilitones . . .	milites (a)
25, 4 (91, 15) voce magna . . .	magna uoce
25, 6 (91, 19) adpropinquave- runt . . .	adpropinquarunt (<i>X</i>)
26, 5 (91, 15) potuerant . . .	potuerunt (<i>X</i>)
27, 1 (92, 4) sese . . .	esse (a)
27, 3 (92, 8) vincula . . .	uincla (β)
27, 4 (92, 9) tum . . .	tunc
„ („) et . . .	om. (a)
„ (92, 10) contulerunt . . .	coniecerunt (a)
27, 5 (92, 13) imprudentiae . . .	prudentiae de corr.
28, 1 (92, 3) demonstratum . . .	monstratum
28, 2 (92, 5) viderentur . . .	uideretur
„ („) subito . . .	om.
„ (92, 7) referrentur . . .	reuerterentur
„ (93, 9) suo . . .	sui (<i>X</i>)
29, 2 (93, 5) quas Caesar . . .	quasque (<i>X</i>)
„ (93, 6) complebat . . .	compleuerat (a)
29, 4 (93, 15) hiemari . . .	hiemare (a)
„ („) in his . . .	his in [<i>a</i>][<i>i</i> s <i>S</i>]
30, 1 (93, 3) et . . .	om. (a)
30, 2 (93, 9) his . . .	iis (<i>a</i> h)

MEUSEL.	Lov.
30, 2 (94, 12) et . . .	aut (a)
31, 2 (94, 6) cotidie in castra . . .	in castra cotidie
„ (94, 9) comparari . . .	comportari (a)
32, 2 (94, 11) succedere . . .	succedere cohortes
32, 3 (94, 13) suos . . .	et suos
32, 5 (95, 18) depositis . . .	dispositis
33, 1 (95, 4) insinuauerunt . . .	insinuauerint (<i>Q^bB²M²pf²</i>)
34, 2 (95, 4) hostem . . .	om. (a)
„ („) et . . .	et ad (a)
34, 4 (95, 8) continuos . . .	continuo
36, 2 (96, 5) hiemi . . .	hiemis
„ („) subiciendam . . .	subeundam
36, 4 (96, 8) portus quos re- liquae . . .	quos reliquae por- tus
37, 3 (97, 10) horis . . .	horas
38, 2 (97, 5) perfugio superi- ore anno erant . . .	superiore anno semper fuerant
„ (97, 6) venerunt . . .	usi peruenerunt (a)
38, 3 (97, 9) se omnes . . .	omnes se
V.	
I, 1 (97, 1) L. Domitio . . .	Domitio
„ (98, 4) possint hieme . . .	hieme possint (<i>X</i>)
„ (98, 5) curent . . .	curarent (a)
I, 2 (98, 6) subductionisque . . .	subductionesque (<i>X</i>)
„ (98, 8) crebras . . .	om.
„ (98, 10) ac . . .	ad (a)
I, 3 (98, 12) multum humi- litas . . .	humilitas multum
I, 5 (98, 15) Illyricum . . .	illyricum
I, 6 (98, 17) eo cum venisset . . .	om. civitatibus mi- lites imperat certumque in locum con- venire iubet
I, 7 (98, 20) demonstrant . . .	demonstrant (<i>X</i>)
2, 1 (98, 1) His . . .	Iis (a)
2, 2 (98, 3) circuitis . . .	circuitis (a)
„ (99, 6) instructas . . .	constructas
„ (99, 7) possint . . .	possent
2, 3 (99, 9) velit . . .	uellet (<i>SM</i> ²)
„ (99, 13) relinquit . . .	reliquit (<i>X</i>)
3, 1 (99, 3) demonstravimus . . .	diximus (demon- stravimus <i>margin.</i>)
3, 2 (99, 5) ex . . .	E (a)
3, 4 (99, 10) iisque . . .	iisque (<i>the first i has been altered into e</i>)
3, 5 (99, 15) auctoritate . . .	familiaritate (a)
„ (99, 17) privatis . . .	privatim (a)
„ (99, 18) possent . . .	posset (<i>X</i>)
„ (100, 19) legatos . . .	induciomarus lega- tos (a)
3, 7 (100, 22) civitatem in sua potestate esse . . .	esse ciuitatem in sua potestate (a)
„ (100, 23) seque . . .	seseque (φ[<i>a</i> ?])
„ (100, 24) et . . .	om. (a)
4, 1 (100, 2) quaeque . . .	quaecunque

MEUSEL	LOV.
4, 1 (100, 4) rebus ad Britannicum bellum	ad britannicum bellum rebus (a)
4, 2 (100, 8) maneret	permaneret
4, 3 (100, 10) ab	a (a)
4, 4 (100, 13) id factum graviter tulit	id tulit factum graviter (a)
„ (100, 15) ante	om.
„ („) fuisset	esset
5, 3 (101, 7) milia	milium (a)
6, 1 (101, 2) a	ab (a)
„ („) habere	ducere
6, 4 (101, 14) sevocare	reuocare (XMS)
„ (101, 15) uti	ut (Mβ)
6, 5 (101, 17) consilium Caesaris	caesaris consilium
7, 2 (102, 5) prospiciendum	perspiciendum (a)
7, 3 (102, 6) dies circiter XXV	circiter xxv. diebus
„ (102, 8) his locis	iis (a)
„ („) flare consuevit	consuevit sufflare
7, 4 (102, 12) naves	in naues
7, 5 („) omnium impeditis animis	impeditis omnium animis
„ (102, 13) Haeduorum	heduorum
7, 8 (102, 19) autem	enim (X)
8, 1 (102, 1) Labieno in continenti cum III legionibus et equitum milibus duobus	labieno cum tribus legionibus et equitum milibus duobus in continentem
„ (102, 3) rei frumentariae	rem frumentariam (M)
„ (103, 5) re	se
8, 2 („) V legionibus	legionibus v.
„ (103, 6) relinquebat	reliquerat (a)
8, 6 (103, 17) Caesar ex captivis cognovit	ex captivis cognovit caesar
„ (103, 20) causa fecerat	fecerant
„ (103, 21) visae	om.
9, 1 (103, 7) ei	et
„ („) navibusque	nauibis
10, 2 (104, 7) litus	litore (a)
„ (104, 8) sustinerent	subsisterent (X)
11, 2 (104, 4) [litteris]	litterisque (a) uel xl corr.
„ (104, 5) XL	lx
11, 4 (104, 8) possit	posset (a)
„ (105, 9) sint apud eum	apud eum sunt (sunt X)
11, 6 (105, 13) ne	nec
11, 7 (105, 15) relinquit	reliquit (aa)
12, 1 (105, 2) ipsa	ipsi (all MSS. except a)
12, 2 (105, 3) qui	om.
„ (105, 4) transierunt	transierant (a)
„ („) isdem	iis (a)
„ (105, 5) remanserunt	permanserunt (a)
12, 3 (105, 8) pecoris	pecorum (a)
12, 4 (105, 9) taleis	anulis
12, 5 (105, 10) ibi	om.
13, 1 (106, 1) triquetra	utrique
„ (106, 5) latus tenet	pertinet (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
13, 2 (106, 7) insula	om. (a)
13, 3 (106, 10) obiectae	subiectae (a)
„ (106, 12) brumam	bruma (X)
13, 6 (106, 17) alter	lateris (X)
„ (106, 18) milium	milialia (a f/z)
14, 1 (106, 1) his	iis (a)
„ (107, 3) a	om. (a)
14, 2 (107, 6) Britanni	britannia
„ („) vitro	ultro (a)
„ (107, 7) horribiliores	horridiores (a)
14, 5 (107, 11) qui	si qui (BM)
15, 1 (107, 1) essedarii	essedarii
„ („) proelio	praelium (a)
„ (107, 2) ita	om. (a)
„ (107, 3) eos	omnes (φ)
15, 4 (107, 10) his	iis (a/h)
„ („) legionum duarum	duarum legionum
„ („) eae	hae (BM)
„ („) perexiguo intermisso	intermisso perexiguo
16, 2 (108, 7) plerumque	plerumque marg.
17, 2 (108, 4) causa	gratia
„ (108, 6) partibus	om. (a)
17, 3 (108, 9) quoad	quo (φa)
„ (108, 10) se	om. (a)
18, 1 (108, 3) omnino loco	loco omnino
18, 2 (109, 4) animadvertit	animum aduertit (a)
„ (109, 5) esse copias hostium	hostium esse copias
18, 3 (109, 6) praefixisque	praefixis (φ)
18, 4 (109, 8) his	iis (a)
18, 5 (109, 12) equitum	equitatum
19, 1 (109, 7) ex agris	om.
19, 2 (109, 8) effunderet	eiecerat (a)
„ (109, 10) magno cum	cum magno
„ („) his	iis (a)
20, 1 (109, 1) Trinovantes	trenobantes
„ (109, 3) [Galliam]	om.
20, 4 (110, 9) his	iis (a)
21, 1 (110, 1) Trinovantibus	trinobantibus
„ (110, 3) Bibroci, Cassi	bibrocicassi
21, 2 (110, 4) his	iis (a)
„ (110, 6) magnus hominum	hominum magnus
21, 5 (110, 13) impetum	impetum marg.
22, 1 (110, 1) Dum	Cum (a)
„ („) his	iis (a)
„ (110, 4) his	iis (a)
„ (111, 5) uti	ut
22, 2 (111, 6) hi	Ii
22, 4 (111, 15) quid	quot
22, 5 (111, 17) Mandubratio	mandubratio
„ (111, 18) Trinovantibus	trenobantibus
23, 2 (111, 2) his	Iis (a)
„ (111, 4) exercitum reportare	reportare exercitum
23, 4 (111, 11) reicerentur	reficerentur (a)
23, 6 (112, 15) consecuta	secuta
24, 1 (112, 2) Gallia	gallias
„ (112, 3) aliter	om.
24, 2 (112, 7) Esvios	essuos

MEUSEL	LOV.
24, 3 (112, 9) Bellovacis .	belgis (a)
„ („) his .	Iis (a)
„ („) Crassum .	crassum quintum (a)
„ (112, 10) Munatium .	minacium
24, 4 (112, 13) ac .	ac <i>in ras.</i> (et [β] <i>was written originally</i>)
„ (112, 14) Catuvolci .	catuolci (X)
24, 5 (112, 15) Cottam .	cottam <i>margin.</i>
24, 7 (112, 20) C continebantur	continebantur c. ^{ti}
24, 8 (112, 21) quoad .	quod
25, 1 (112, 2) cuius .	Huius (a)
25, 3 (113, 6) inimici .	inimicis iam (a)
„ („) palam multis .	multis palam (a)
„ („) auctoribus .	et iis auctoribus eum (a)
25, 4 (113, 10) cognoverit .	cognouerat (a)
26, 1 (113, 1) Diebus .	*ies
26, 2 (113, 5) comportavissent	comportassent
„ (113, 7) oppugnanda .	oppugnatum (a)
27, 1 (114, 2) Arpineius .	carpineus
27, 2 (114, 6) confiteri .	confidere
„ (114, 8) ei .	om.
„ („) a .	ab (a)
„ (114, 9) remissi .	missi (AMβ)
27, 3 (114, 13) in se .	in <i>se margin.</i>
27, 5 (114, 21) alteri .	alterae (a)
27, 7 (114, 24) pro pietate .	proprietate (ABMQ ^a ah ¹ , l)
27, 10 (115, 33) se .	om. (a)
„ („) suos .	om. (a)
28, 1 (115, 1) Arpineius .	carpineus
„ („) audierant .	audierunt (a) u <i>corr.</i>
28, 3 (115, 11) existimabant .	existimabant (exis- tumabant a)
28, 4 („) copias etiam .	etiam copias (X)
28, 6 (115, 16) esse .	esset (a)
29, 1 (115, 3) aut .	et
29, 2 (115, 7) si ille adesset .	om.
„ (115, 8) venturos .	uenturos esse (X)
29, 3 („) sese .	om.
„ („) spectare .	expectare
29, 5 (116, 13) spe .	re (a)
29, 6 (116, 15) utramque par- tem	utraque parte (a)
„ (116, 16) proximam .	primam
29, 7 (116, 19) habere .	haberet (X)
„ („) non praesens	praesens pericu- periculum .
30, 1 (116, 1) utramque par- tem	utraque parte (a)
„ („) disputatione	habita disputa- habita tione
30, 3 (116, 9) a .	ab (a)
31, 2 (116, 5) dissensione .	dissensionem (a)
31, 5 (117, 12) languore .	languor
32, 2 (117, 6) demississet .	dimississet (X)
„ (117, 9) nostris .	nostrorum (a)
33, 1 (117, 3) omnia .	omnia <i>margin.</i>
„ (117, 4) consuevit .	solet

MEUSEL	LOV.
33, 3 (117, 10) non facile .	minus facere (a)
„ („) per se omnia .	omnia per se (a)
„ (118, 11) possent .	non possent
33, 4 (118, 14) cecidit .	accidit (X)
33, 5 (118, 15) pugnam .	pugnandum (φ)
34, 1 (118, 2) pronuntiari .	pronuntiare (a)
„ (118, 5) existimarent .	sperarent
34, 2 (118, 7) salutis .	om.
35, 2 (118, 4) recipere .	recipi (a)
35, 3 (119, 5) progressi .	egressi (a) in <i>corr.</i>
35, 5 (119, 12) indignum .	dignum
35, 6 (119, 13) Balventio .	baluemptio
36, 1 (119, 3) Cn. .	cg.
36, 2 (119, 5) respondet .	respondit (X)
„ (119, 8) suam .	suamque
36, 3 (119, 10) se .	om. (a)
37, 5 (120, 13) proicit .	proiecit (X)
37, 6 (120, 15) nocte .	noctu (a)
„ („) omnes .	om.
37, 7 (120, 17) elapsi .	lapsi (a)
38, 1 (120, 3) noctem neque	diem neque noc- diem tem
„ („) se .	sese (a)
38, 2 (120, 6) iis .	his (X)
„ (120, 7) acceperint .	acceperant (Σπ)
38, 3 (120, 8) duos .	om.
„ („) demonstrat .	demonstrant (<i>the last two letters are written on an erasure, ap- parently of uit</i>)
38, 4 (120, 9) negotii .	negotio
39, 1 (120, 2) Pleumoxios .	pleumoximos (φ)
„ (120, 3) possunt manus	manus possunt (a)
39, 2 (121, 5) huic .	Huc
39, 3 (121, 8) his .	Iis (a)
„ (121, 9) Nervii, Atua- tuci	aduatuci (a) neruii
40, 1 (121, 2) a .	ab (a)
40, 3 (121, 7) coactis copiis .	copiis coactis
40, 4 (121, 8) a nostris eadem	eadem ratione qua ratione qua pridie pridie (a)
„ (121, 9) reliquis dein- ceps	deinceps reliquis
41, 1 (121, 1) Tum .	Tunc (a)
41, 5 (122, 8) quicquam .	quicquam praesidii
„ („) iis .	his (X)
„ (122, 9) praesidii .	om.
„ (122, 12) nolint .	uelint
41, 6 („) per se incolu- mibus .	incolumbibus per se (a)
„ (122, 13) in .	om. (a)
41, 7 (122, 14) respondet .	respondit (X)
41, 8 (122, 17) se .	om. (a)
42, 1 (122, 2) X .	xi.
42, 2 (122, 3) a .	ab (a)
„ (122, 4) nacti .	habebant (a)
„ (122, 5) his .	iis (a)
42, 3 (122, 6) essent .	esset (a)
„ (122, 7) cogeantur .	uidebantur (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
42, 4 (122, 9) milium passuum	uallum pedum
42, 5 (123, 10) reliquis . .	reliquisque (a)
„ (123, 12) docuerant parare ac facere	facere <i>in ras.</i> docuerant <i>marg.</i> ac parare
43, 1 (123, 2) fusilis . .	fusili (X)
43, 2 (123, 4) haec . .	Haec (β)
43, 4 (123, 8) at . .	Ac (X)
„ (123, 10) undique . .	ubique (a)
„ (123, 12) conflagrare . .	conflagrari
„ (123, 13) de vallo . .	<i>om.</i>
„ („) decederet . .	diceret
44, 1 (123, 2) iam . .	<i>om.</i> (a)
44, 2 (124, 3) uter alteri . .	quinam (a)
„ (124, 4) loco . .	locis (a)
44, 3 (124, 5) Pullo . .	cum Pullo
„ (124, 7) tuae probandae	pro ^t -tuae laude (a)
„ („) expectas . .	spectas (a)
„ (124, 8) dies . .	<i>om.</i>
44, 4 („) cum . .	dum (a)
„ (124, 9) extra . .	ex castris (a)
„ („) pars . .	parti (a)
44, 5 (124, 10) sese tum vallo	uallo sese (a)
44, 6 (124, 12) mediocri . .	Tum mediocri (a)
„ (124, 14) hostes in illum	in hostem
	[<i>corr.</i> uel te (?)
„ (124, 15) progrediendi . .	regrediendi (a)
44, 7 (124, 16) transfigitur . .	transigitur
44, 8 (124, 17) hic . .	huic (a)
„ (124, 18) conanti . .	conantis
44, 10 (124, 20) se . .	<i>om.</i>
„ (124, 21) veruto transfixum arbitrantur	uero obscurantur occisum (a)
44, 12 (124, 24) concidit . .	occidit
44, 13 (125, 25) subsidium fert	fert subsidium (a)
45, 3 (125, 8) hic . .	Huius
„ (125, 9) magnisque . .	magnis
46, 1 (125, 2) Crassum . .	crassum quaestorem (a)
„ („) mittit . .	misit
46, 3 (125, 6) Atrebatium . .	atrebatum
„ (125, 7) sciebat . .	<i>om.</i> (a)
46, 4 (125, 8) possit . .	posset (ap)
„ (126, 11) cogit . .	colligit (a)
47, 1 (126, 3) progreditur . .	procedit (a)
47, 2 („) praeficit . .	praefecit (Mπ)
„ (126, 4) ei . .	<i>om.</i> (a)
47, 4 (126, 10) si . .	<i>om.</i> (a)
„ (126, 11) fecisset . .	fecisset ut (a)
47, 5 (126, 13) remittit . .	dimittit (a)
„ (126, 15) equitatus peditatusque . .	peditatus equitatusque (φQ)
48, 1 (126, 2) reciderat . .	redierat (X)
„ (126, 3) communis salutis	communis salutis (a)
48, 5 (126, 11) munitiones . .	munitionem (a)
48, 8 (127, 15) a . .	ab (a)
49, 1 (127, 2) haec . .	Haec (φπλ)
„ (127, 3) armata . .	armatae (X)
49, 2 (127, 5) repetit . .	reperit (repperit X)

MEUSEL	LOV.
49, 5 (127, 11) multitudinem hostium . .	hostium multitudinem
49, 6 (127, 15) consedit . .	consedit (X)
49, 7 (127, 16) potest loco . .	loco potest (a)
49, 8 (128, 22) vallem . .	ualles ([uallis S] a)
51, 2 (128, 2) de . .	<i>om.</i>
51, 4 (128, 9) ea . .	eas (a)
51, 5 (128, 11) tum . .	Tunc
„ (128, 14) iis . .	eis (φ)
52, 1 (128, 2) illorum . .	illum (SM ²)
„ (129, 3) incolumibus . .	incolumibus copiis (a)
52, 2 (129, 5) producta legione . .	Legione producta (a)
52, 3 (129, 7) his . .	iis (ABM)
„ (129, 8) virtute . .	cum uirtute (a)
52, 6 (129, 15) ferundum . .	ferendum (β)
„ (129, 17) laetitia . .	laetatio (a)
53, 1 (129, 5) oreretur . .	oriretur (σχ ² M ² a)
53, 3 (129, 9) Fabium cum sua legione . .	cum sua legione fabium
„ (130, 13) ipse ad exercitum	ad exercitum ipse
53, 5 (130, 19) sine sollicitudine Caesaris	intercessit sine sollicitudine caesaris
53, 6 (130, 21) Roscio . .	roscio quaestore (a)
„ (130, 23) Aremoricae . .	armoricae (X)
53, 7 (130, 24) milibus . .	milia (M ²)
54, 1 (130, 2) alios . .	alias (X)
„ („) denuntiaret, alios cohortando	alias cohortando denuntiaret (a)
54, 3 (130, 4) faciendi . .	faciundi (φ)
54, 4 (131, 13) aliquos repositos	repositos aliquos
„ (131, 18) Gallici belli . .	belli gallici
54, 5 (131, 20) quod . .	quod ei (a)
„ (131, 22) populi Romani	a populo romano (a)
55, 1 (131, 4) minorem . .	mino <i>marg.</i> rem
55, 2 (131, 7) Tencterorum . .	tenchterorum
„ (131, 8) amplius fortunam	fortunam amplius
55, 3 (131, 9) cogere . .	agere
56, 2 (132, 6) belli . .	bellorum
„ (132, 7) puberes . .	puberes et (a)
„ („) coguntur . .	consuerunt (a)
„ (132, 8) venit . .	conuenit (a)
56, 5 (132, 17) praecipit . .	praecepit (a)
57, 2 (132, 7) certam . .	certum (af)
58, 1 (133, 4) custodiis intra castra continuit	intra castra continuit custodiis
58, 2 (133, 8) cum . .	<i>om.</i> (Ma ² f)
58, 4 (133, 13) unum omnes petant	omnes petentur (unum petentur a)
„ (133, 15) interfectum uiderit	interfectum uideret (interfectum MB ² β)
„ (133, 16) spatium nactum illum	illum spatium nactum
58, 5 (133, 17) iis . .	his (af)

VI.

MEUSEL	Lov.
I, 1 (133, 2) Sextium . . .	sestium
I, 2 (134, 6) consul . . .	consulis (X)
„ („) rogasset, ad signa con- venire	ad signa conueni- re rogauisset (rogauisset a)
I, 3 (134, 7) etiam . . .	etiam <i>marg.</i>
„ (134, 10) sarciri . . .	resarciri (a)
I, 4 (134, 17) opes . . .	opus
2, 2 (134, 5) civitatibus . . .	ciuitates
„ („) iureiurando in- ter se	inter se iureiuran- do
2, 3 (134, 9) Menapios . . .	ac menapios (a)
3, 1 (134, 2) coactis legioni- bus	legionibus coactis
3, 3 (135, 7) rursus in hiber- na legiones	legiones in hiberna
3, 5 (135, 12) erant hi . . .	hi erant
„ (135, 14) afuisse . . .	afuisse <i>rec. in marg.</i>
3, 6 (135, 15) pronuntiata . . .	nuntiata
4, 1 (135, 2) Acco . . .	accico
4, 2 (135, 6) adeunt . . .	ad eum (a)
4, 3 (135, 8) aestivum . . .	aestiuo
„ („) tempus instan- tis	tempore instante
„ (135, 9) arbitrabatur . . .	arbitratur (a)
5, 1 (135, 2) Cavarinum . . .	Cauironum
5, 3 (136, 6) contenturum . . .	concertaturum (X)
5, 6 (136, 16) ad eum legio- nes	legiones ad eum (φ)
6, 1 (136, 3) adit . . .	adiit (a)
7, 2 (136, 3) hiemabat . . .	hiemauerat (a)
7, 5 (137, 12) flumen . . .	flumen <i>marg.</i>
7, 6 (137, 15) consulto . . .	in consilio (X)
„ (137, 17) non . . .	non <i>corr.</i>
7, 7 (137, 19) non nullos . . .	non nullos gallos (a)
7, 8 (137, 20) nocte . . .	noctu (a)
„ (137, 23) populi Romani	priorum
„ (137, 25) efficit . . .	effecit (a)
8, 1 (137, 3) longum . . .	locum
„ (137, 4) expectare . . .	expectari
„ (137, 7) committere proelium . . .	proelium commit- tere
8, 6 (138, 21) nostrorum . . .	modo (X)
8, 7 (138, 26) contulerunt . . .	receperunt (a)
8, 8 (138, 28) excesserunt . . .	excesserant (a)
9, 3 (138, 5) paulo . . .	paulum (a[<i>a</i> ?])
„ („) ante . . .	antea
9, 5 (139, 9) oreretur . . .	oriretur (φπ)
9, 6 (139, 12) auxilia ex sua civitate . . .	ex sua ciuitate auxilia (β)
9, 7 (139, 16) velit dari . . .	uellet dare (a)
9, 8 (139, 17) Ubiorum . . .	Ubi horum (X)
„ (139, 18) accipit . . .	accepit (X)
10, 1 (139, 3) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (139, 4) sint . . .	sunt (Sβ)
10, 4 (139, 13) venerint . . .	uenerant
„ (139, 15) se . . .	sese
10, 5 (139, 16) appelletur . . .	appellatur (X)
„ (139, 17) hanc . . .	ac (a)
„ (140, 18) ab . . .	a (β)

MEUSEL

Lov.

10, 5 (140, 18) Sueborum . . .	sueuis (πh)
„ („) Cheruscorum . . .	cheruscis (X) que <i>corr.</i>
„ (140, 19) incursionibus- que	incursionibus
„ („) silvae initium . . .	initium siluae (a)
11, 2 (140, 5) in . . .	om. (a)
11, 4 (140, 9) idque . . .	Itaque (a)
„ (140, 11) quisque op- primi	opprimi quisque
„ (140, 12) habeat . . .	habet (X)
11, 5 (140, 14) in . . .	om.
„ („) partes . . .	om.
12, 1 (140, 2) Haedui . . .	hedui
12, 2 (140, 3) Haeduis . . .	heduis
12, 4 (140, 9) Haeduis . . .	heduis
„ (140, 11) se . . .	esse
12, 5 (141, 14) infecta . . .	imperfecta (a)
12, 6 (141, 16) Haeduis . . .	heduis
„ (141, 17) ii . . .	hi (X)
12, 7 (141, 22) ii . . .	hi (χαλ)
„ (141, 23) Haeduis . . .	heduis
12, 9 (141, 26) tamen . . .	tum (αρ)
„ (141, 27) Haedui . . .	hedui
13, 1 (141, 3) audet . . .	habet (φ)
„ („) nulli . . .	nullo (a)
13, 4 (141, 10) eos . . .	hos (X)
13, 5 (142, 15) decernunt . . .	discernunt (αρ)
13, 7 (142, 20) eorum . . .	om. (a)
„ („) ne quid . . .	neque
„ („) contagione . . .	cogitatione (a)
„ (142, 21) iis . . .	his (X)
13, 9 (142, 26) armis de prin- cipatu . . .	de principatu ar- mis
13, 10 (142, 30) decretis iudi- cisque . . .	iudiciis decretis- que
13, 11 (142, 31) Britannia . . .	britannia
„ („) translata . . .	translata esse (a)
14, 2 (142, 5) parentibus propinquis- que	propinquis paren- tibusque
14, 3 (142, 7) annos non nulli XX	nonnulli annos xx.
14, 4 (143, 11) vulgus . . .	uulgum (X)
16, 1 (143, 1) omnis . . .	omnium (a)
16, 3 (143, 6) hominis . . .	hominis non (a)
„ („) hominis vita . . .	uita hominis (φ)
„ (143, 7) arbitrantur . . .	arbitrabantur
16, 4 (144, 11) exanimantur . . .	eximantur
16, 5 (144, 12) in furto aut latrocinio . . .	in latrocinio aut furto
„ („) noxia . . .	noxia (BMφ)
„ („) comprehensi . . .	deprehensi
„ (144, 13) gratiora . . .	grauiora
„ („) dis . . .	diis (M ² a ² f)
17, 1 (144, 1) Deorum . . .	Deum (X)
17, 2 (144, 9) regere . . .	gerere (SM ² h)
17, 3 („) cum . . .	si
„ (144, 11) cum . . .	quae (X)
„ („) superauerunt . . .	superauerunt (αf)
„ (144, 12) reliquas . . .	reliquasque (a)
17, 4 (144, 13) cumulos . . .	tumulos (X)
17, 5 (144, 14) neque . . .	neque ut

MEUSEL	LOV.
18, 3 (145, 6) ab . . .	á
„ (145, 7) adoleverunt .	adoleuerint
„ (145, 9) puerili . . .	in puerili
19, 2 (145, 5) superavit .	superarit (a)
19, 3 (145, 9) conveniunt .	ueniunt
19, 4 (145, 13) omniaque, quae	omnia quaeque (a)
„ (145, 15) iis . . .	his (af)
„ (145, 16) funebribus .	funeribus (X)
20, 1 (145, 2) existimantur .	existimant
„ (145, 3) quid . . .	om.
„ („) ac . . .	aut (a)
„ (145, 4) uti ad magis- tratratum defe- rat neve cum quo alio com- municet	om.
20, 3 (145, 8) quae . . .	quaeque (a)
„ („) esse ex usu . . .	ex usu esse
„ (146, 9) concilium .	consilium
21, 2 (146, 4) aperte opibus .	opibus aperte
„ (146, 5) Lunam . . .	solem
21, 3 (146, 7) a parvis . .	ab paruulis
21, 4 (146, 9) ali staturam, ali . . .	alii staturam, alii (a)
21, 5 (146, 13) renonum .	rehenorum (AM)
„ („) tegimentis . . .	tegumentis (φ)
22, 1 (146, 5) quique . . .	qui cum (a)
22, 2 (146, 6) et . . .	ei (a)
22, 3 (146, 10) potentiores atque	potentioresque (X)
„ (146, 11) ne qua . . .	neque (Mπ)
„ (146, 12) dissension- esque	diuisionesque
22, 4 (146, 13) aequitate .	aequalitate
23, 2 (147, 4) se . . .	om. (a)
23, 4 (147, 7) et . . .	ut (X)
23, 7 (147, 14) dixit se . .	se dixit
„ (147, 15) ii . . .	hi (φf)
„ (147, 16) a . . .	ab (a)
23, 8 (147, 18) his rerum .	rerum his
23, 9 (147, 20) quacumque .	quaque (a)
„ (147, 21) sanctosque . .	sanctos (a)
24, 1 (147, 2) virtute supera- rent	superarent uirtute
24, 2 (147, 5) Germaniae sunt	sunt germaniae
„ („) Hercyniam . . .	herciniam
„ (147, 6) Eratostheni .	eratosteni
„ (147, 7) Orcyniam . . .	eratostheni (pf)
„ („) Volcae . . .	uulgo (Mβ)
„ („) Tectosages . . .	tectusages (AM)
25, 1 (148, 1) Hercyniae . .	herciniae
25, 2 (148, 4) Rauracorum .	tauriacorum (a)
„ (148, 5) Danubii . . .	danubii (X)
25, 3 (148, 6) a . . .	ab (a)
„ (148, 7) multarumque .	multarum
25, 5 (148, 13) a . . .	ab (a)
26, 1 (148, 2) inter aures .	om.
26, 2 (148, 3) summo . . .	summa
27, 1 (149, 1) alces . . .	altes (a)
27, 2 (149, 5) si . . .	om.

MEUSEL	LOV.
27, 2 (149, 5) ac . . .	aut (a)
27, 4 (149, 10) aut ab radici- bus	ab radicibus
28, 2 (149, 4) est . . .	om.
28, 3 (149, 8) interfecerunt .	interfecerint
28, 4 (149, 10) mansueferi .	mansueti fieri (φ)
28, 5 (149, 11) a . . .	om. (a)
29, 1 (149, 3) hominis . . .	omnes (X)
29, 3 (150, 11) Volcacium .	uulcatium (AS)
29, 4 (150, 17) Basilum . .	basilium (X)
29, 5 (150, 19) in castris fieri	fieri in castris
30, 1 (150, 1) Basilus . . .	Basilus (X)
„ („) contraque . . .	contra
„ (150, 3) deprehendit .	inuenit (deprehen- dit marg.)
30, 2 (150, 6) casu . . .	usu
30, 3 (150, 11) hoc . . .	hoc quoque (a)
„ (151, 14) ac . . .	atque (φ)
31, 1 (151, 1) non . . .	om.
„ (151, 2) existimaret . .	existimauit
31, 3 (151, 8) insulis . . .	in siluis (φ)
31, 5 (151, 10) Catuolcus .	catauolcus
32, 1 (151, 1) Condrusique .	condrusi
„ (151, 5) unam esse cau- sam	causam esse unam
„ (151, 6) cogitasse . . .	cogitasse
32, 2 (151, 8) reducerentur .	reducerent
32, 3 (152, 11) Atuaticam .	aduatucam
32, 4 (152, 12) atque . . .	atque corr.
32, 5 (152, 14) probabat . .	probaret
32, 6 (152, 19) praefecit . .	praefecit (a)
„ („) ei . . .	om. (a)
33, 2 (152, 4) Atuaticis . .	aduatucos (SQA ²)
33, 3 (152, 5) cum reliquis III ad flumen † Scaldim	ad flumen scaldem (a) cum reliquis tribus
33, 4 (152, 10) frumentum de- beri	deberi frumentum (a)
33, 5 (152, 12) eam . . .	eum (a)
„ (152, 14) possint . . .	possent (a)
34, 2 (153, 4) ubi cuique . .	ubicumque (af)
„ („) valles . . .	uallis (SM ² X ² f)
34, 3 (153, 10) quae . . .	Qua
34, 4 (153, 12) sevocabat .	euocabat (X)
34, 5 (153, 14) vellet . . .	uellent (X)
„ (153, 15) diducendi . .	deducendi
„ (153, 16) vellet . . .	uellent (a)
34, 8 (153, 24) evocat . . .	ad se uocat (a)
„ (153, 27) pro tali faci- nore	om.
35, 4 (154, 7) trans Rhenum	Transrheno
35, 5 (154, 10) Tencteros . .	thenctheros (a)
35, 6 (154, 11) transeunt . .	transeuntes
35, 7 (154, 17) paludes . .	palus in (X)
35, 8 (154, 22) licet iam . .	iam licet
„ („) Atuaticam . . .	ad uatucam
35, 9 (154, 24) ne murus . .	numerus (ap)
35, 10 (154, 26) oblata . . .	obiecta
„ (154, 27) Atuaticam . .	ad uatucam
„ (154, 28) duce . . .	om.
36, 1 (154, 2) summa . . .	cum summa (a)
„ (154, 3) egredi . . .	om.

MEUSEL	LOV.
36, 1 (154, 4) de numero dierum Caesarem	caesarem de nu- mero dierum
36, 2 (155, 6) reditu eius	eius reditu
„ (155, 9) nullum	nullam
„ („) casum	causam
36, 3 (155, 14) in castris	om. (a)
„ („) ex quibus	Et
„ (155, 17) subsederat	subsederant (a)
37, 2 (155, 5) vallo	ualle (ϕa^1)
„ (155, 6) facultatem non haberent	non haberent facul- tatem
37, 4 (155, 8) hostes ex reli- quis	ex reliquis hostes (a)
„ (155, 9) possint	possent (a)
„ (155, 10) portas nostri	nostri portas
37, 7 (155, 14) castra iam	iam castra (ϕ)
37, 10 (156, 20) nituntur	conantur
38, 1 (156, 1) in	cum (a)
„ (156, 2) apud	ad (a)
„ (156, 3) iam	om.
38, 2 (156, 6) rem esse	esse rem (a)
38, 3 (156, 7) consequuntur	consequitur
„ („) centuriones	centurio
38, 5 (156, 10) traditus	tractus (X)
39, 1 (156, 1) nostri	non
39, 3 (156, 6) tam	om. (a)
40, 2 (157, 4) perrumpant	perrumperent
„ (157, 5) etsi	et si (?) (X)
„ („) ceciderit	cecidierint
40, 3 (157, 6) in	om.
„ (157, 7) eundem omnes	omnes eundem
40, 4 (157, 10) iis	eis (a)
40, 6 (157, 16) profuisse	prodesse (a)
„ (157, 17) potuerunt	poterant (SM^2)
„ (157, 18) demiserunt	dimiserunt ($SMpa^b$)
40, 7 (157, 20) virtutis causa	causa uirtutis
41, 1 (157, 3) in munitioni- bus	om.
41, 2 (157, 6) in	ad (a)
41, 3 (158, 8) omnino	omnino
„ („) occupauerat	praeoccupauerat (a)
42, 1 (158, 2) ignorans	ignarus
„ (158, 3) minimum	minimo (X)
„ („) casui	casu (a)
42, 3 (158, 7) omnium rerum	rerum omnium
„ (158, 11) obtulerant	optinuerunt
43, 1 (158, 1) rursus ad vex- andos	ad uexandos rur- sus
43, 3 (158, 5) a	om. (a)
43, 4 (158, 10) tanto in omnes partes dimis- so equitatu	om.
43, 5 (159, 14) a	ab (a)
44, 1 (159, 2) deducit	reducit (X)
44, 2 (159, 6) pronuntiata more	pronuntiat, ac more
44, 3 (159, 9) sex	et (ϕ)
„ (159, 10) Agedinci	acedici (ϕ)

MEUSEL	LOV.
1, 1 (159, 2) P.	om. (an)
„ (160, 5) instituit	instituunt
1, 3 (160, 10) subiectos	subditos
1, 4 (160, 11) inter se	inter se marg.
„ (160, 12) conciliis	consiliis (a)
1, 5 (160, 16) initium	initia (a)
1, 6 (160, 17) esse	om.
1, 7 (160, 21) possit	posset (a)
1, 8 (160, 23) acceperint	acceperant (a)
2, 2 (160, 4) obsidibus	de obsidibus
„ („) inter se	om.
„ („) possint	possent (a)
„ (160, 5) at	aut (a^f)
„ (160, 6) quo	quod (a)
2, 3 (160, 8) tum	tunc
„ (161, 10) a	ab (X)
„ („) concilio	consilio (β)
3, 1 (161, 2) Conconneto- dumno	conconetodumo
„ (161, 3) Cenabum	genebim
3, 2 (161, 8) ubi quae	ubique (X)
„ (161, 9) hunc	Hanc (a)
„ (161, 10) tum	tunc
3, 3 (161, 11) Cenabi	genabi (X)
4, 1 (161, 3) totius Galliae	galliae totius (a)
„ (161, 4) a	ab (a)
4, 2 (161, 7) a	ab (a)
„ (161, 9) Gergovia	gergobia (a)
„ („) desistit tamen	tamen desistit
4, 3 (161, 11) ad	in
4, 5 (161, 15) quoque	quoquo ($SM^2\beta$)
4, 6 (162, 19) adiungit	adiungunt (a)
4, 7 (162, 21) ad se	ad se uenire
„ („) celeriter	om.
„ (162, 22) iubet	iussit (a)
4, 10 (162, 26) igni	igne (a)
5, 6 (162, 17) ponendum	proponendum (a)
5, 7 („) se	om. (a)
„ (162, 18) coniungunt	iunguntur (a)
6, 1 (163, 2) urbanas res virtute Cn. Pompei	uirte Cg. pom- peii urbanas res
6, 4 (163, 8) iis	his (a)
7, 2 (163, 2) Nitiobroges	nitiobriges (X)
„ (163, 4) inruptionem	eruptionem (X)
7, 4 (163, 8) Arecomicis	aretomicis (X)
7, 5 (163, 11) Helvius	heluetios
8, 1 (163, 3) Helvius	heluetios
8, 2 („) etsi	et sic
„ („) mons	om. (a)
„ („) Cebenna	ceuenna
„ (163, 6) in altitudinem pedum VI	sex in altitudinem pedum (a)
„ (163, 7) labore	sudore (a)
8, 3 (164, 11) possint	possent (X)
8, 4 (164, 15) neu se ab hos- tibus diripi patiat	neue ab hostibus diripiantur (a)
8, 5 (164, 18) in	per (a)
9, 1 (164, 2) usu	usus (ap)
„ (164, 3) praeceperat	perceperat (SM^2pf^b)

MEUSEL	LOV.
9, 1 (164, 3) causam . .	causa
9, 2 (164, 7) a . . .	ab (a)
9, 4 (164, 9) equitatum .	equitatum <i>marg.</i>
9, 5 (164, 15) omnes in unum locum	in unum locum omnes
9, 6 (164, 19) victos . .	uictor (X)
10, 1 (165, 3) uno loco legiones	uno in loco
„ (165, 5) positum vide- ret	uideretur (M ²) positum esse (a)
10, 4 (165, 13) Agedinci .	agendici
11, 1 (165, 3) quo . . .	quod
„ (165, 4) eoque . . .	Idque (a)
11, 3 (165, 7) relinquit .	reliquit
„ (165, 8) conficeret .	faceret (a)
„ („) Cenabum .	genabum (X)
11, 4 (165, 9) tum . . .	tunc
„ (165, 11) Cenabi .	genabi (X)
„ („) eo . . .	in eo
11, 6 (165, 15) Cenabum .	genabum (X)
„ („) contingebat .	continebat (a)
11, 7 (166, 17) Cenabenses .	Genabenses (X)
11, 8 (166, 19) Caesar .	caesari (a)
„ (166, 23) multitudini .	multitudinis (a)
11, 9 (166, 24) diripit . .	diruit
„ (166, 25) Ligerim . .	ligerem (a)
12, 1 (166, 2) desistit . .	destitit (a)
12, 2 (166, 3) Biturigum positum in via	om. (a, which also omits Nouiodu- num)
12, 3 (166, 4) ad eum . .	om.
12, 6 (166, 16) dstrictis .	districtis (X ^{M²f})
13, 1 (166, 2) proeliumque .	praelium (a)
13, 3 (167, 10) rebus . . .	om. (a)
14, 1 (167, 2) Cenabi . .	genabi (aa)
14, 2 (167, 5) et . . .	aut (a)
14, 3 (167, 6) quod . . .	ut
14, 4 (167, 9) deleri . . .	diligi (a)
14, 5 („) causa . . .	om.
„ (167, 11) quoque . .	quoquo (πh)
14, 7 (167, 15) cum . . .	om. (af)
„ („) a . . .	ab (X)
14, 8 (167, 16) < an > im- pedimentis	impedimentisne (β)
14, 9 (168, 19) suis . . .	usui
14, 10 (168, 22) aestimari de- bere	aestimare (a)
15, 1 (168, 2) sententia .	om.
„ (168, 3) fit . . .	om. (a)
15, 2 (168, 6) se prope .	om. (a)
15, 3 (168, 7) deliberatur .	dicebatur (a)
„ (168, 8) concilio . .	consilio
„ („) placeat . . .	placeret (a)
15, 4 (168, 9) omnibus Gallis	gallis omnibus
„ (168, 10) et . . .	om. (a)
„ (168, 11) succendere .	incendere
„ („) cogantur . .	cogerentur (X)
16, 2 (168, 4) tempora . .	opera
„ (168, 5) gererentur .	agerentur (a)
16, 3 (169, 10) itineribus .	itineribusque
17, 1 (169, 2) palude . .	a paludibus (a)
17, 2 (169, 5) Haeduos .	heduos

MEUSEL	LOV.
17, 3 (169, 12) frumento mili- tes	milites frumento
„ (169, 13) sustentarint .	sustentarent (X)
17, 5 (169, 20) numquam .	numquam (a)
„ („) infecta . . .	incepta (a)
17, 7 (169, 21) praestare . .	praestaret (a)
„ (169, 23) Cenabi . .	genabi (a)
18, 1 (170, 1) turres adpro- pinquassent	appropinquassent turres
„ (170, 5) insidiandi .	insidiarum (a)
„ („) eo . . .	esse
19, 1 (170, 1) leniter . .	breuiter
19, 2 (170, 4) distributi .	distributis (φ)
19, 4 (170, 12) ferre . . .	perferre (a)
19, 5 (170, 15) videat . .	uideret (a)
„ (171, 17) laude sua . .	sua salute (a)
19, 6 (171, 18) consolatus .	consolatos (a)
„ („) reducit in cas- tra	in castra reducit
„ („) reliquaque quae	reliqua quaeque (a)
20, 2 (171, 5) fortuito . .	fortuitu (A ^a φ ²)
20, 3 (171, 11) ipse sine .	ipsum (X)
20, 4 (171, 13) illic . . .	illis (a)
„ („) utilem . . .	utile
20, 6 (171, 17) intervenerint .	interuenirent (a)
20, 7 (171, 21) a . . .	ab (a)
„ (171, 24) remittere .	remitteret (X)
20, 8 (172, 26) a me . . .	om.
20, 10 (172, 30) atque . .	et (a)
20, 11 (172, 35) profecisset .	profecissent (S)
20, 12 (172, 39) paene . .	om. (a)
„ („) hac . . .	om. (a)
21, 1 (172, 3) adprobant . .	probant
21, 2 (172, 6) copiis . . .	locis (a)
„ („) submittantur .	mittantur (a)
21, 3 (172, 8) paene in eo .	penes eos (X)
22, 1 (172, 2) genus . . .	gens
„ (172, 3) a . . .	ab (a)
„ (172, 4) aptissimum .	aptissima
22, 2 (173, 7) sunt . . .	om.
22, 5 (173, 14) et apertos cu- niculos prae- usta et prae- acuta ma- teria et pice fervefacta et maximi pon- deris saxis morabantur moenibusque adpropinquare prohibebant	om. (φ)
23, 2 (173, 4) introrsus . .	extrorsus (ah ^b)
„ (173, 6) effercuntur . .	effarciuntur (aa)
23, 3 (173, 7) coagmentatis .	coagminatis et coaugmentatis
„ (173, 8) contingant . .	coniungant
„ (173, 9) intermissis . .	intermissae
„ (173, 10) arte . . .	apte
23, 5 (174, 16) pedum quad- ragenum	pedes quadragenos (X)

MEUSEL	LOV.
24, 1 (174, 2) tardarentur .	terrerentur
24, 2 (174, 6) et . . .	om. (a)
24, 4 (174, 12) materiam .	materiem (a)
„ (174, 14) occurreretur .	curreretur (a)
24, 5 (174, 16) duae semper .	semper duae (a)
25, 1 (174, 5) ipsi . . .	om.
25, 2 (175, 10) sebi . . .	seui [sa(e)ui aa]
„ („) traditas . . .	traditis
„ (175, 11) e regione tur-	proiciebat e regi-
ris proiciebat	one turris
25, 3 (175, 14) altero . . .	alteri (a)
25, 4 (175, 15) est a propug-	a propugnatoribus
natoribus	uacuu relictu-
vacuu relic-	est
tus	
„ (175, 16) omni . . .	omni ea (a)
26, 2 (175, 7) perpetua, quae	quae perpetua
26, 3 (175, 8) hoc . . .	haec (X)
„ (175, 12) naturae . . .	natura
27, 1 (175, 2) imbri . . .	imbri (a)
„ (175, 3) arbitratus . . .	arbitratus est (a)
„ (176, 5) suos quoque . . .	suosque (a)
27, 2 (176, 6) intra vineas .	extra castra uine-
	asque
„ (176, 8) iis . . .	his (X)
27, 3 (176, 11) compleverunt	complerunt
28, 2 (176, 5) demittere . . .	dimittere (X)
28, 4 (176, 11) Cenabensi . . .	genabi (a)
28, 5 (176, 15) eiecerant . . .	eiecerunt (a)
28, 6 (176, 18) oreretur . . .	oriretur
	(SM ² Q ² π)
„ („) [ut] . . .	et
„ (176, 19) deducendosque	deducendos
„ (177, 20) curavit . . .	curaret (X)
„ (177, 21) ab initio . . .	om.
29, 1 (177, 2) demitterent . . .	dimitterent (Spf)
„ („) neve . . .	ne (a)
29, 7 (177, 14) interea . . .	itaque
„ (177, 15) iis . . .	his (af)
„ (177, 17) sustinere pos-	sustinerent (a)
sent	
30, 2 (177, 5) existimabatur .	uidebatur
„ („) quod . . .	quam
30, 4 (178, 12) erant . . .	sunt (X)
31, 1 (178, 3) earum prin-	eas bonis pollicita-
cipes donis	tionibus (a)
pollicitationi-	
busque	
31, 2 (178, 6) capere posset .	posset capere (ca-
	pere is an addi-
	tion)
31, 4 (178, 7) deminutae . . .	diminutae (a)
„ (178, 11) in Gallia nu-	numerus in gallia
merus	(a)
31, 5 (178, 15) numero equi-	equitum suorum
tum suorum	numero (a)
32, 1 (178, 1) Avarici . . .	auarico (a)
„ (178, 3) reficit . . .	refecit (φ)
32, 3 (179, 12) creatum . . .	creatum esse (a)
„ („) Convictolita-	conuictolitauen
vem	
33, 1 (179, 1) a . . .	om. (β)
„ (179, 5) descenderet . . .	discederet (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
33, 1 (179, 6) sibi . . .	om.
33, 2 (179, 8) iis . . .	his (X)
„ (179, 9) excedere ex	finibus excēdere
finibus	
„ (179, 10) de legibus	legibus
eorum	
„ (179, 12) ad se Dece-	etiam ad se
tiam	
33, 3 (179, 15) a . . .	et (φ)
„ („) duo . . .	duos
„ (179, 18) coegit . . .	cogit
34, 1 (180, 3) eaque . . .	ea (ap)
35, 1 (180, 2) fereque . . .	fere
„ („) Caesaris . . .	om.
„ („) ponebat . . .	ponebant (a)
„ (180, 4) Caesari . . .	caesaris
35, 2 (180, 7) castris positus	situs (a)
35, 3 (180, 10) consueverat .	consueverat (X)
„ (180, 11) distractis . . .	captis (X)
„ („) ut . . .	uti (a)
35, 4 (180, 12) progredi . . .	egredi (a)
„ (180, 13) caperet . . .	caeperat (cepe-
	rat a)
„ (180, 14) isdem . . .	iisdem
35, 5 (181, 16) traductis . . .	om. (a)
36, 1 (181, 2) eo die proelio	praelio eo die
„ (181, 4) de oppugna-	om.
tione desper-	
avit	
„ (181, 5) obsessione . . .	expugnatione (a)
36, 2 (181, 7) in monte . . .	om. (a)
„ (181, 8) civitatum . . .	ciuitatum (a)
„ (181, 9) dispici . . .	despici (X)
36, 3 (181, 10) civitatum . . .	ciuitatum (a)
36, 4 (181, 15) quoque . . .	quoquo
„ (181, 16) periclitaretur .	perspiceretur (a)
36, 6 (181, 20) infirmo . . .	nimis firmo (X)
36, 7 (181, 25) ab repentino	ad repentinum hos-
hostium in-	tium incursum
cursu	
37, 1 (182, 2) Haeduus . . .	heduus
„ (182, 5) Litavicus . . .	litaucis
37, 2 (182, 7) imperio . . .	in imperio
37, 3 (182, 9) distineat . . .	dēstineat (destin-
	eat Q ²)
37, 5 (182, 14) disceptatorem	disceptaturi
„ (182, 15) Haeduus . . .	heduos
38, 1 (182, 2) a . . .	ab (X)
38, 2 (182, 4) omnis nobilitas	nobilitas omnis
„ (182, 6) causa . . .	re
38, 3 („) his . . .	ipsis (a)
„ (182, 7) effugerunt . . .	fugerunt (X)
„ (182, 8) propinquis in-	propinquis marg.
terfectis	inter marg. fectis
38, 4 (183, 9) ii . . .	hi (φβ)
38, 5 (183, 11) omnes . . .	multos (a)
„ (183, 14) effugisse . . .	fugisse (X)
38, 6 („) Haedui . . .	hedui
38, 8 (183, 18) iam . . .	una
38, 9 (183, 22) continuo . . .	om. (a)
38, 10 (183, 24) Haeduorum .	heduorum
39, 1 (183, 3) genere dis-	dispari genere
pari	

MEUSEL		LOV.
39, 3 (184, 12)	quod . .	quid
„ (184, 13)	si se . .	ne
„ („)	milia . .	milia se
„ (183, 15)	possit . .	posset (X)
40, 2 (184, 6)	posita in cele- ritate	in celeritate posita
40, 3 („)	C. . .	om. (a)
„ (184, 9)	profugisse .	fugisse (a)
40, 4 (184, 11)	conspicatur .	conspicatus (a)
40, 5 (184, 14)	Eporedorigem	eporidorigem (a)
40, 6 (184, 16)	Haedui . .	hedui
„ (184, 17)	et . . .	om. (a)
41, 1 (184, 5)	movet . .	mouit (a)
41, 2 (185, 9)	isdem . .	iisdem
41, 3 (185, 10)	omni genere .	omnis generis (a)
„ (185, 12)	fuisse . .	om.
41, 4 (185, 13)	relictis portis .	portis relictis
41, 5 (185, 14)	his . . .	Iis (a)
42, 5 (185, 10)	legiones . .	legionem (X)
42, 6 (185, 15)	ad arma . .	armatorum (a)
43, 2 (186, 5)	purgandi sui .	sui purgandi (a)
43, 3 (186, 6)	et . . .	om. (a)
43, 4 (186, 13)	Haeduos . .	heduos
43, 5 (186, 18)	similisque . .	similis (a)
44, 1 (186, 1)	gerendae rei .	rei gerendae (a)
„ (186, 2)	in minora .	minora in
„ (186, 4)	prae multitu- dine	om.
44, 3 (186, 9)	sed silvestre .	sed hunc silues- trem (a)
44, 5 (187, 14)	locum . . .	om. (a)
45, 1 (187, 2)	eo de . . .	Eisdem (a)
„ (187, 3)	pervagantur .	uagarentur (a)
45, 2 (187, 5)	mulorumque produci de- que his stra- menta	om.
„ (187, 6)	mulionesque .	muliones
45, 3 (187, 8)	vagantur . .	uagarentur (a)
45, 5 (187, 12)	X. . .	unam (X)
„ („)	luce . . .	iugo
„ (187, 13)	constituit loco	loco constituit
45, 6 (187, 14)	ad munition- nem	munitionum (a)
45, 7 (187, 17)	ne . . .	qui (a)
45, 8 (187, 19)	velit . . .	uellet (φ)
45, 9 (187, 22)	vitari . . .	mutari (a)
45, 10 (187, 24)	Haeduos . .	ad haeduos (φ)
46, 1 (187, 1)	Murus oppidi .	Oppidi murus
„ („)	a . . .	ab (φ)
46, 2 (188, 3)	huc . . .	huic (X)
46, 3 (188, 5)	longitudinem .	longitudine (a)
„ (188, 6)	nostrorum .	nostrum (X)
46, 4 (188, 9)	dato signo .	signo dato
46, 5 (188, 12)	Teutomatus .	uotomapatus (φ)
„ (188, 13)	parte corporis nuda	corporis parte nu- data (a)
47, 1 (188, 2)	legionisque .	legionique (a)
„ (188, 3)	continuo .	contionatus (X)
„ („)	constiterunt .	constituit (a)
47, 2 (188, 4)	legionum mi- lites	milites legionum
„ („)	audito . . .	exaudito (a)

MEUSEL		LOV.
47, 2 (188, 5)	valles . .	uallis (SM ²)
47, 3 (188, 8)	adeo arduum .	arduum adeo
„ („)	sibi existima- bant	sibi esse existim- auerunt (a)
„ (188, 9)	finem prius .	prius finem
47, 4 (188, 13)	se . . .	sese (a)
47, 6 (189, 18)	muro . . .	muris (a)
„ („)	demissae . .	dimissae (a/f)
„ („)	sese militibus tradebant	om.
47, 7 (189, 19)	L . . .	om.
48, 1 (189, 1)	ii . . .	hi (X)
„ (189, 5)	curso . . .	concurso (a)
48, 4 (189, 11)	loco nec nu- mero	numero nec loco
49, 1 (189, 1)	copias augeri -	augeri copias (a)
„ (189, 3)	misit . . .	mittit
49, 2 (189, 5)	loco depulsos	depulsos loco
50, 1 (190, 2)	pugnaretur .	om. (a)
„ („)	hostes loco .	loco hostes
„ (190, 4)	dextra parte .	latere dextro
50, 2 (190, 8)	pactum . . .	pacatum (X)
50, 3 (190, 11)	de . . .	om. (a)
50, 4 (190, 13)	sibi . . .	sui (a)
50, 5 (190, 18)	in medios hos- tes inrupit	irrupit in medios hostes
51, 3 (191, 8)	hostem . . .	hostes (a)
„ („)	constiterunt .	constiterant
51, 4 (191, 10)	paulo . . .	paulum (a)
52, 2 (191, 6)	quod . . .	quid (X)
52, 3 (191, 10)	quos . . .	quod
„ (191, 12)	arrogantiamque	arrogantiam
52, 4 (191, 14)	a . . .	ab (a)
53, 1 (191, 1)	et ad extremum	om.
[oratione]		
„ (191, 3)	neu . . .	neu id
„ (191, 4)	id . . .	om.
53, 2 (192, 6)	cum . . .	Tum
„ (192, 7)	magis . . .	minus (X)
„ („)	descenderet .	descendit et
„ (192, 8)	eo . . .	om. (a)
53, 4 (192, 13)	pontem . . .	pontes (a)
„ („)	refecit . . .	refecit (a)
„ („)	exercitumque .	atque exercitum
„ („)	traduxit . .	traducit (a)
54, 1 (192, 2)	Eporedorige .	eporidorige
54, 2 (192, 6)	maturari . .	admaturari (a)
„ (192, 7)	eos retinendos	retinendos eos
„ (192, 8)	censuit . . .	constituit (aφ)
„ („)	daret . . .	dare (a)
54, 3 (192, 9)	iis . . .	his (X)
„ (192, 10)	exposuit . .	exponit
54, 4 (192, 11)	compulsos .	et compulsos
„ (192, 12)	sociis . . .	copiis (a)
„ (192, 14)	duxisset . .	deduxisset (a)
55, 3 (193, 6)	coemptum . .	coemptorum
55, 4 (193, 8)	Bibracte . .	bibracti (a)
55, 7 (193, 17)	cui . . .	quo (a)
„ (193, 18)	frumenti . .	frumentum (S)
56, 1 (193, 4)	coactae copiae	copiae coactae
56, 2 („)	ne . . .	ut (X)
„ (193, 5)	< non > nemo tum quidem	ne metu quidem (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
56, 2 (194, 7) Cebenna	ceuennae (ϕ)
„ (194, 8) abiuncto	adiuncto ($a\phi$)
56, 4 (194, 13) umeri	humeri (X)
57, 1 (194, 4) positum	quod positum est (a)
58, 2 (195, 5) Metiosedum	meledunum
„ (195, 6) insula	insula silua (ABM)
58, 3 („) Sequanae	sequana ($\phi\beta$)
58, 4 (195, 8) impositis	iniectis (a)
58, 6 (195, 13) iis	his ($\phi\beta$)
„ (195, 14) Metiosedo	a metlodone (<i>the l is writtn on an erasure, ap- parently of d</i>)
„ („) profugerant	fugerant (a)
„ (195, 15) profecti a	prospecta (a)
„ („) in ripa	ad (a) ripas (X)
59, 2 (195, 6) qui iam	quia (BM)
59, 3 (195, 8) tum	Cum (a)
59, 4 (195, 11) Agedincum	agendicum
59, 5 (196, 14) instabant	instabat ($\phi\phi f$)
„ (196, 15) tum	cum (a)
60, 1 (196, 1) Itaque	om. (a)
„ (196, 3) Metiosedo	a mellodone
„ (196, 6) expectare	expectari (X)
60, 2 (196, 8) relinquit	reliquit (π)
60, 4 (196, 10) lintres	lyntres (luntres a)
„ (196, 11) sonitu remor- um	remorum sonitu
61, 1 (196, 2) ut	om.
„ (196, 3) erat	om. (BMS^2)
„ (196, 4) a	ab (a)
61, 5 (197, 14) e regione	regione
„ („) manu Metiose- dum	manu. et tosedum
„ (197, 15) progredetur	progrediatu (a)
62, 2 (197, 3) tot	om. (a)
„ (197, 5) adesse	esse
62, 4 (197, 8) XII.	xv. (BM)
„ (197, 9) pilis	telis (a)
62, 5 (197, 12) cohortabatur	cohortatus (BMS^2)
62, 6 („) at	om. (BMS^2)
„ (197, 13) etiam nunc	nunc etiam (BM)
„ („) VII. legionis	a vii. legione (a)
62, 7 (197, 16) ne	nec
62, 8 (197, 18) ii	hi (hi[i] $\phi\beta$)
„ („) in	om. (X)
„ („) castra Labieni	labienum (a)
„ (197, 21) victorum	uictorumque (a)
62, 10 (198, 24) Agedincum	ad agedincum
„ (198, 25) inde	in diem (indiem AB)
63, 1 (198, 1) legationes	legiones (ϕ)
„ (198, 3) utuntur	nituntur (X)
63, 4 (198, 6) ut	om. (MS^b)
„ („) belli gerendi	belligerandi (π)
63, 5 (198, 8) re	rem (a)
„ („) controversiam	controuersia
„ („) deducta	deduci (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
63, 6 (198, 9) conveniunt	Eodem conueniunt (a)
„ (198, 10) frequentes mul- titudinis	frequentes multi- tudines (X)
63, 7 (198, 12) concilio	consilio (<i>the s is written on an erased c</i>)
„ (198, 13) Romanorum	om.
„ (198, 14) a	ab (a)
„ (198, 15) toto	tanto
63, 8 (198, 16) ferunt	fuerunt ($A^2\phi$)
„ (198, 17) in se indul- gentiam	indulgentiam in se (a)
63, 9 (198, 19) spei	rei
64, 1 (198, 1) Ille	Ipse (a)
64, 2 (199, 3) habuerit	habuerat ($a\hbar$)
64, 3 (199, 9) se	om. (a)
„ (199, 10) videant	uideantur
64, 5 (199, 12) Eporedorigis	eporedigeris (χ)
„ (199, 13) inferre	inferri (a)
64, 6 (199, 14) Gabalos	gaballos (ϕQ)
„ (199, 15) Rutenos Cad- urcosque	rutenosque cadur- cos
„ („) Volcarum Are- comicorum	uolgorum acremi- corum
64, 7 (199, 18) resedisce	redisse
65, 1 (199, 2) coacta	om. (ϕ)
„ („) ab	a
65, 2 (199, 4) pelluntur	om.
„ (199, 6) murosque	ac muros (a)
65, 3 (199, 8) et	ac
65, 4 (200, 14) consuerant	consueuerant (π)
66, 2 (200, 3) horum	eorum (S)
„ (200, 5) ferre	ferri (a)
66, 6 (200, 18) ne ipsos qui- dem	et ipsos quidem non (a)
66, 7 (201, 23) ne	om. (X)
„ (201, 24) perequitarit	perequitasset (a)
67, 1 (201, 1) ad ius iuran- dum	iure iurando (a)
„ (201, 2) postero	postera (?)
„ (201, 3) una a	una (a)
67, 2 (201, 5) divisum	diuersum
„ (201, 6) omnibus in	in omnibus (β)
67, 3 („) consistit	constitit (a)
67, 4 (201, 9) Caesar	caesar marg.
„ („) converti	constitui (a)
67, 5 (201, 11) ab	ex
67, 6 (201, 15) circumveni- rentur	circumirentur (ϕA)
67, 7 (201, 18) Convictolitave	conuictolitau ($\hbar[?]$)
68, 1 (202, 1) suas	om. (a)
68, 2 (202, 5) ductis	deductis (X)
„ (202, 6) hostes	om. (a)
„ (202, 7) milibus	milibus hostium (a)
68, 3 (202, 9) qua maxime parte exerci- tus confide- bant	quo maxima parte exercitus con- fidebat (a)
„ (202, 11) Alesiam	om. (a)
69, 1 (202, 2) oppidum	oppidum alesia (a)
69, 2 (202, 4) subleabant	subleuabant

MEUSEL	LOV.	MEUSEL	LOV.
69, 3 (202, 5) ante oppidum	ante id oppidum (a)	72, 3 (204, 12) demissis	dimissis (ap)
„ („) longitudinem	longitudine	„ „) derivata	diriuata (ap)
69, 5 (202, 8) muro, quae	muroque (Mβ)	72, 4 (205, 14) pinnaeque	pennasque
„ („) solem spectabat	spectabat solem	„ („) eminentibus	emanentibus
„ (202, 10) maceriam	materiam (a)	„ (205, 15) aggeris	aggeres (a)
„ („) in altitudinem	sex in altitudine	„ (205, 16) opere	operi
VI		73, 1 (205, 1) eodem	eo (a)
69, 7 (202, 13) VIII castella-	ibique castella	„ (205, 3) a castris	ab (a) nostris
que XXIII	xxxiii. (ibique. castella xxiii. [X])	„ (205, 4) ac	et
„ (202, 14) quibus in	in quibus	73, 2 (205, 6) rursus opera	opera rursus
„ („) ne qua subito	om.	73, 3 (205, 11) demissi	dimissi (ap)
„ . . . tenebantur		73, 4 (205, 12) erant	om. (a)
70, 1 (203, 2) proelium	bellum in ras.	„ (205, 13) implicati	impliciti
„ (203, 3) longitudinem	longitudine	„ (205, 14) induebant	indu * ebant (the scribe wrote inducebant and imperfectly rubbed out (?) c. The vellum is not scraped)
70, 3 (203, 9) coartantur	coaceruati. Tum (a)	73, 5 (205, 15) ante hos	quos (a)
70, 4 („) acrius	acriter	„ (205, 16) in altitudinem	tres in altitudinem
„ (203, 10) munitiones	munitonem	„ „ „ trium pedum	pedes (a)
70, 5 (203, 11) maceriam	materiam (a)	73, 6 (205, 18) demittebantur	dimittebantur (X)
70, 6 (203, 14) Galli perturbantur	perturbabantur. Galli	„ „ „ or	iii. digitis
„ („) venire	uenire (a)	73, 7 (205, 22) virgultis	uinculis (a)
71, 1 (203, 3) noctu	noctu marg.	„ („) integebatur	impediebatur (BM)
71, 2 (203, 5) possint	possent (a)	73, 8 (205, 23) ducti	iuncti (a)
71, 4 (204, 10) frumentum se	exigit dierum xxx frumentum (S) (uelita. Ratione inita exiguo dierum se habere xxx m. frumentorum rec. in marg.)	73, 9 (206, 25) taleae	talía
„ (204, 11) etiam	om.	„ („) infixis	infixae (ap)
„ (204, 12) tolerari	etiam tolerari (apparently the scribe wrote tolerati: this was corrected by an early marginal r; and ri was written on the ti of tolerati by a later hand)	„ (206, 26) mediocribus-	mediocribus
71, 5 („) his	His corr. rec.	„ (206, 27) stimulos	famulos
„ („) erat nostrum opus	opus erat (a)	74, 1 (206, 1) quam potuit	om.
„ (204, 14) dimittit	emittit	„ (206, 2) milia	milium
71, 7 (204, 16) a Mandubiis	ab manduuiis (a)	„ (206, 3) pares	pari (a)
71, 8 (204, 18) recipit	recepit (a ¹)	„ (206, 5) accidat	accederet
71, 9 (204, 19) administrare	parat administrare (a)	74, 2 (206, 6) ne autem	aut (ap)
72, 1 (204, 4) summa	summae fossae (a)	75, 1 (206, 1) ad	apud (a)
72, 2 (204, 6) spatium	spatio (a)	„ (206, 2) omnes	omnes hos (a)
„ (204, 7) nec	ne	„ (206, 4) civitati	ex ciuitate (a)
„ („) opus	corpus (a)	„ (206, 5) frumentandi	frumentationem (a)
„ („) corona militum	militum corona	„ „ „ rationem	
„ (204, 8) multitudo hostium	hostium multitudo (a)	75, 2 (206, 7) Ambivaretis	ambivaretis (X)
		„ (206, 10) consuerunt	censuerunt
		75, 3 („) Sequanis, Senonibus	Senonis, sequanis
		„ (206, 12) X	x (β)
		„ (206, 13) sena Andibus	Senonibus
		„ (207, 15) Cenomanis	cenomannis (X)
		„ (207, 16) Veliocassis	Baiocassii
		„ („) [Lexoviis]	luxouii
		„ (207, 17) Bois bina	bois trina
		75, 4 („) X	xxx. (a)
		„ (207, 19) Aremoricae	armoricae (X)
		„ (207, 20) Redones	rodones
		„ („) Caletes	cadetes (X)
		„ („) Osismi	ossismi, lemouices
		„ („) Veneti	om. (a)
		„ (207, 21) Lexovii	lemouices (X)
		„ („) Venelli	unelli (X)

MEUSEL	LOV.	MEUSEL	LOV.
75, 5 (207, 21) Bellovacii .	bellouici	80, 5 (211, 15) aut .	ac ($\alpha\pi$)
„ (207, 22) contulerunt .	compleuerunt (α)	„ („) factum .	om. (α)
„ (207, 23) dicerent .	dicebant (α)	„ („) poterat .	poterat marg.
„ (207, 24) a .	ab (α)	„ (211, 17) excitabat .	excitabant (B^1MI)
„ (207, 25) duo milia .	xxi.	80, 6 (211, 19) propulerunt .	pepulerunt
76, 1 (207, 3) pro quibus .	Quibus ille pro (α)	80, 7 (211, 20) interfectique .	interfecti
„ (207, 5) atque ipsi .	ipsique	80, 8 (211, 22) ad .	in (α)
76, 2 („) tanta tamen .	tamen tanta (α) fuit	80, 9 (211, 23) ii .	hi (β)
„ (207, 6) fuit .	om.	„ („) Alesia .	ab alesia (S)
„ (207, 8) moveretur .	mouerentur (X)	81, 1 (212, 2) spatio .	spatio corr. rec.
76, 3 (207, 10) CCL. .	ccxi.	„ („) harpagonum .	arpagonum (X)
„ (208, 12) Eporedorigi .	eporedigi	81, 2 (212, 5) obsidebantur .	obsistebant
„ (208, 13) Vercassivelauno	uer cassianeuno (α)	„ (212, 7) proturbare .	perturbare (MSa)
76, 6 (208, 18) sustineri .	sustinere	„ („) reliquaque	reliqua quaeque (α)
„ (208, 20) cernerentur .	cerneretur	quae	
77, 1 (208, 1) ii .	hi (X)	81, 4 (212, 11) suis cuique .	unicuique
77, 4 (208, 12) est .	sit (X)	81, 5 (212, 13) ac .	om. (α)
77, 5 (208, 15) mollitia .	molestia (α)	„ („) glandibus	gallos glandibus
„ (208, 16) reperiuntur .	reperiantur (α)	Gallos	(α)
77, 8 (209, 21) hominum .	in hominum (α)	81, 6 (212, 16) Trebonius .	tebronius
77, 10 (209, 29) Romanos .	romanorum animos (α)	„ (212, 17) nostros premi	premi nostros
„ (209, 30) animine .	sine (α)	82, 1 (212, 1) a munitione .	ad munitionem (α)
77, 12 (209, 35) Cimbrorum .	cymbrorum	„ (212, 5) interibant .	interiebant (α)
77, 13 (209, 39) si exemplum .	exemplum si	82, 2 (212, 6) adpeteret .	appareret
77, 15 (210, 46) bello .	om.	82, 3 (212, 9) praeparata	praeparauerant
„ (210, 48) umquam .	ulla (α)	erant	(X)
78, 1 (210, 2) ii .	hi (α)	suos corr.	
„ (210, 3) sint .	sunt (α)	82, 4 (213, 11) suos discessisse	abscessisse
„ („) experiantur .	expediantur (α)	83, 2 (213, 4) erat a .	Ex his in
„ (210, 4) ad .	ab (α)	„ (213, 5) potuerant .	potuerunt
„ („) sententiam .	sententia (α)	„ (213, 6) que .	om. (α)
„ („) descendant .	discedant ([desci-	„ („) leniter .	leuiter ($\alpha\phi$)
	dant β] X)	„ („) fecerant .	fecerunt (α)
78, 2 („) tamen .	tamen tempore (α)	83, 3 (213, 7) C. (Caninius)	L. (α)
78, 4 (210, 9) orabant .	orant (α)	„ („) Rebilus .	reuilus (X)
78, 5 (210, 11) custodiis .	custodibus (α) in ras.	83, 4 (213, 9) regionibus .	legionibus (α)
79, 1 (210, 3) longius .	longe (α)	„ („) hostibus .	hostibus
„ (210, 4) a .	ab (α)	„ („) milia .	om. (α)
79, 2 („) postero .	postera	83, 5 (213, 11) quoque .	quoquo ($\alpha\pi$)
„ (210, 6) milia passuum	^a iiii. passuum (α)	„ (213, 13) meridies .	meridie (X)
III		84, 1 (213, 3) crates .	castris (α)
„ (210, 7) pedestresque .	pedites, tresque	„ („) reliquaque	reliqua quaeque
„ („) abductas .	abditas ([additas ϕ] X)	quae	(BMQ)
79, 4 (211, 11) consistunt .	considunt (X)	„ (214, 4) paraverat .	parauerant (α)
„ (211, 12) aggere .	aggerem	84, 4 (214, 9) existit .	extitit (α)
80, 3 (211, 7) interiecerant .	interiecerunt	„ („) virtute con-	salute (α) consis-
„ (211, 9) complures de	complures uul-	stare	tere
improvisio	nerati de in-	85, 1 (214, 2) quaque in .	qua ex (α)
vulnerati	prouiso	„ (214, 3) < subsidium >	auxilium
	galli corr. rec.	85, 3 (214, 5) perfrigerint .	perfringerent
80, 4 (211, 10) suos .	suos	85, 4 (214, 8) missum .	om.
„ (211, 11) Galli .	om.	86, 2 (214, 3) possit .	posset
„ („) multitudine	premi multitudine	„ (214, 4) pugnet .	pugnaret (α)
premi		„ („) ne .	non
„ (211, 12) ii .	hi (β)	86, 3 (214, 5) cohortatur .	cohortatus (ϕ)
„ (211, 13) ii .	hi ($\phi\beta$)	87, 1 (215, 1) primum .	primo ($\phi\phi$)
	actum corr. rec.	87, 4 (215, 6) se .	om. (α)
80, 5 (211, 15) recte .	recte	„ (215, 7) a .	ab (α)
		87, 5 (215, 9) XI .	una xl (ϕ)
		88, 1 (215, 3) consuerat .	consueuerant.
		„ (215, 5) proelium com-	mittunt prae-
		mittunt	lium
		88, 2 (215, 6) excipit .	excipitur

MEUSEL	LOV.
88, 2 (215, 6) omnibus	ex omnibus.
88, 3 (215, 7) emissis	omissis (a)
„ (215, 9) adpropinquat	appropinquabant (a)
„ („) vertunt	uerterunt (ap)
88, 4 (215, 10) Sedulius	Asedullus (a)
„ (215, 11) Lemovicum	remorum
89, 4 (216, 7) consedit	consedit (X)
89, 5 (216, 10) toti	toto (X)
90, 2 (216, 3) se facturos	facturos se
90, 4 (216, 7) Rutilum	rutilium (ap)
90, 5 („) legatum	om. (β)
„ (217, 8) Minucium	minutium (απ)
„ (217, 9) a	ab (φ [a?])
90, 6 (217, 10) Ambivaretos	ambibaretos (X)
„ (217, 11) Rebilum	reuilum
„ („) Rutenos	rotenos
90, 7 (217, 13) Cavilloni	cabillonni (a)

VIII.

Praef., 2 (217, 5) competentibus	comp̄arantibus (X)
„ („) eius scriptis	scriptis eius
„ (217, 7) confeci	confeci <i>marg.</i>
Praef., 5 (218, 15) deesset	desit (a)
Praef., 8 (218, 26) pro	om.
Praef., 9 (218, 28) ipso	ipsum (a)
1, 1 (218, 2) militesque	et milites
2, 1 (219, 3) cum	om. (a)
„ (219, 4) XIII.	mā xii. (a)
2, 2 (219, 10) potuerant	potuerunt (MQ)
3, 1 (219, 2) disiectisque	deiectisque (X?)
3, 2 (219, 6) consuevit	cognouit
„ (219, 8) deficeretur	deficeret
3, 3-4 (219, 12) confugerant frustra: nam	confugerant frustra. Nam (Sβ [X?])
3, 4 (219, 15) fideles	faciles
4, 1 (220, 4) nummum	nummorum
„ (220, 6) recipit	recepit (φβ)
„ („) XXXX.	xxx. (φ)
4, 2 (220, 8) petikum	petunt
4, 3 (220, 9) XVIII.	xviii.
„ (220, 11) Arari	arare (a)
„ („) educit	ducit (X)
„ („) conlocatas	collectas
5, 1 (220, 2) docti	ducti (X)
„ („) desertis vicis	uicis desertis
„ (220, 5) amiserant	dimiserant
5, 2 (220, 8) Cenabo	caenabo (c[a]enabo απ)
„ („) partim quae	partimque
„ („) conlatis	coniectis (X)
„ (220, 10) compegit	conteggit (X)
6, 1 (220, 6) Cenabi	caenabi
„ („) conlocavit	collocat (f)
6, 2 (221, 9) his	iis (BMp)
„ („) Correo	corbeo (a)
„ (221, 11) Remis erant attributi	remanserant a tributis liberi

MEUSEL	LOV.
6, 3 (221, 15) evocat rursus	mā xi. euocat rursus
„ (221, 17) ab	a (ρ)
7, 3 (222, 9) esset	om.
„ (222, 10) quodve	quodque
7, 4 (222, 13) Atrebates	atrabatas
„ (222, 16) Corbeo	coribeo
„ (222, 17) esse odio	odio esse
„ („) populi Romanani	principis
7, 6 (222, 23) se offerre	offerrent se (a)
7, 7 (222, 25) in	et in (a)
„ (222, 26) permanere	permaneret (a)
„ (222, 27) disiecta	deiecta
8, 1 (222, 1) pluribus	plurimis
„ („) cognosset	cognouisset (Sβ)
„ (222, 5) sua	suorum (XB ²)
8, 3 (223, 13) legiones	legio. (X)
„ (223, 14) irent	iret (a)
„ (223, 17) maioris	minoris
8, 4 (223, 19) conspectum	conspectu (β)
„ (223, 20) adducit	adduxit
9, 1 (223, 2) viderent	uiderunt (a)
„ (223, 4) sive	seu (a)
9, 2 (223, 8) altitudinem	altitudine
9, 3 (223, 10) muniri	munire (af)
„ (223, 11) quinum denum	denum quinum (a)
9, 4 (223, 14) lorica	loricula (X)
„ (224, 16) quo tutior	quattuor
„ (224, 18) qui	quo (X)
„ („) in ipso	om. (φ)
10, 1 (224, 2) magnitudinem	munitionem
„ (224, 3) adlaturum	illaturum
10, 2 (224, 8) nostra	nostri
„ („) auxilia [aut]	aut auxilia
„ (224, 10) eandem	eodem (a)
„ („) transgressi	transgredi
„ (224, 11) summovebant	promovebant
10, 3 (224, 13) ex	om.
„ („) pabulum	pabulatio
„ („) impeditis	impedimentis
„ (224, 14) dispersi	dispersi (a)
10, 4 (224, 15) adferebat	afferebant
„ (224, 20) inflabantur	nitebantur (a)
11, 1-12, 2 (225, 5-7 [bis]) nisi a maiore... circumventos adgrederentur	om. (a)
12, 3 (225, 10) a	om. (a)
12, 4-5 (225, 13-4) amisso Vertisco... uti, tamen	amisso uertisco... uti tamen <i>rec. in marg.</i> [rec. cusatione corr.]
12, 5 (225, 15) excusatione	ex consuetudine
12, 6 (225, 17) inflantur	inflammantur (a)
13, 1 (226, 1) intermittunt	intermittuntur (M ²)
13, 2 (226, 6) resistentibus	in resistendo
„ (226, 8) ii	hi (β)
„ (226, 9) consueverant	consuerant (φ)
13, 3 (226, 10) refugerunt	fugerunt

MEUSEL	LOV.
13, 3 (226, 11) amissis . .	omissis
13, 4 (226, 14) minimis . .	minimisque (a)
14, 1 (226, 1) isdem . .	iisdem
14, 2 (227, 9) pro . .	in (X)
14, 4 (227, 15) dividi videret . .	uiderentur
„ (227, 19) animadverteret et . .	animadverteret (χBM)
„ (227, 20) iugi . .	uallis
15, 1 (227, 1) confisi . .	confusi
„ (227, 3) paulatimque . .	paulatim (a)
„ (227, 4) auferent . .	possent (a)
15, 3 (227, 7) absolutis . .	ac solutis (a)
„ (227, 8) stationibus . .	statione (a)
„ („) disponit . .	deponit
15, 5 (228, 11) [ubi consederant] . .	ut consueuerant (a)
„ (228, 13) commentariis . .	commentariis caesaris (a)
15, 6 (228, 19) refugerunt . .	fugerunt
16, 1 (228, 4) promouet . .	promouit (a) et om. (a)
„ („) turmas mittit . .	om. (a)
16, 2 (228, 7) fumum . .	summum iugum (a)
16, 3 (228, 12) loco munitissimo . .	munitissimo loco
17, 1 (228, 1) cum . .	om.
„ („) accideret . .	accidere
„ (228, 2) Correu . .	corbeum (a)
„ (229, 5) conlocaret . .	collocarat (φ)
17, 2 (229, 8) praesidio . .	praelio
18, 1 (229, 3) impeditissimis aut flumine altissimo . .	aut impeditissimo flumine
„ (229, 5) circumdederant . .	circumdederunt (X)
18, 3 (229, 8) Correu . .	corbeus (a)
„ (229, 9) primum . .	primus (φ)
„ (229, 11) fecit . .	facit
18, 4 (229, 14) detrimentum . .	detrimentorum
19, 1 (229, 3) Correo . .	corbeo (AM ²)
19, 2 (229, 5) iniretur . .	inirentur
„ (230, 9) interpositi . .	interpositis (a)
19, 5 (230, 16) confisi . .	confusi
19, 6 (230, 19) itineribus . .	in itineribus (a)
„ (230, 21) voluerant . .	uoluerunt (a)
„ („) iis . .	his (S)
19, 7 (230, 22) tandem . .	tamen (X)
„ („) percussique . .	percussique
„ (230, 24) a . .	om. (β)
19, 8 (230, 25) Correu . .	corbeus (a)
„ (230, 26) aut . .	haud
20, 1 (230, 3) relicturos, quae . .	relicturosque
„ (230, 6) traducto . .	reducto
20, 2 (231, 9) Correo . .	corbeo (a)
„ (231, 12) mittantur . .	mittuntur (φ)
21, 1 (231, 1) probato . .	prolato
21, 4 (231, 9) magnum tamen . .	tamen magnum (a)
„ (231, 11) Correu . .	corbeus (a)
23, 1 (231, 2) conficiunt . .	constituunt
„ (231, 3) quae . .	qui (af)
23, 4 (232, 14) ei tradidit . .	tradit ei (a)

MEUSEL	LOV.
23, 5 (232, 16) vel . .	uelut (X)
„ (232, 17) a familiaribus prohibitus . .	prohibitus a familiaribus
„ (232, 18) caput . .	om.
23, 6 (232, 19) districti . .	districti
„ (232, 24) conspectum . .	conspectu
24, 1 (232, 2) pararet . .	id pararet (BM)
„ („) quo . .	quod
24, 3 (233, 11) evocat . .	uocat
„ („) XV. . .	xii. (a)
„ (233, 13) simile incommo- modum . .	incommodum simile
„ (233, 14) decursione . .	de incursione
„ (233, 15) qui . .	quia
„ (233, 16) Illyriorum . .	incolae illorum (a)
24, 4 (233, 17) depopulandos- que . .	populandosque
„ (233, 18) posse . .	om.
25, 1 (233, 1) finium . .	finis
„ (233, 4) Treveros . .	treuiris
25, 2 (233, 6) exercitata . .	exercita (q)
26, 1 (233, 2) Pictorum . .	pectonum (BM)
„ (234, 3) cognosceret . .	cognouisset
„ („) permanserat . .	manserat (a)
„ (234, 5) Lemonum . .	limonum (M ²)
26, 2 (234, 6) cognosceret . .	cognouisset
„ (234, 7) a . .	om. (Sal)
„ („) Dumnaco . .	deunaco
„ (234, 8) Lemoni . .	limone
„ (234, 9) auderet . .	audet
26, 3 („) Dumnacus . .	Deunacus
„ (234, 10) cognosset . .	cognouisset (fh)
26, 4 (234, 15) Lemonum . .	limonem (a)
27, 1 (234, 1) Eodem . .	Eo (BM)
„ (234, 2) fidem . .	fide
„ („) recipit . .	recepit (Sa)
„ (234, 3) Caninii . .	C. caninii
„ („) fit certior . .	certior fit
„ („) gerantur . .	geruntur
27, 2 (234, 5) Dumnacus . .	deunacus
„ (234, 6) eodem tem- pore . .	tempore eodem (a)
„ („) [et] . .	et corr. rec.
„ (234, 8) ex eo . .	eo ex
„ (234, 9) arbitratur . .	arbitratur
„ („) flumen Ligerim . .	flumine ligeri (a)
„ (234, 10) magnitudinem . .	magnitudine
27, 3 (234, 11) conspectum . .	conspectu
„ („) hostium vene- rat . .	uenerat hostibus (a)
„ (234, 12) cum . .	om. (c)
„ („) iis . .	his
„ (235, 14) eum . .	non eum (a)
27, 4 (235, 16) praecedere . .	procedere (a)
„ (235, 17) equorum . .	equitum
27, 5 (235, 19) Dumnaci . .	deunaci
„ (235, 20) in . .	om. (ABM)
28, 1 (235, 2) agmen . .	omne agmen (χBM)
28, 2 (235, 4) Atius . .	titacius
„ (235, 6) consecutus . .	secutus
„ („) parte . .	partim (X)

MEUSEL	LOV.
28, 3 (235, 9) subsistentes .	subsistentibus
29, 1 (235, 2) Dumnacus .	deunacus
„ („) esset .	esse
„ (236, 3) tum .	cum (a)
„ (236, 4) conspectum .	conspectu
29, 2 (236, 5) perterrita .	perterritae (a)
29, 3 (236, 9) sublato .	solutu
29, 4 (236, 12) milibus .	milibus passuum (a)
„ (236, 13) timore .	eo tempore (a)
30, 1 (236, 2) perditis .	perditis <i>corr. rec.</i> (peditis <i>seems to have been written originally. The bar in the abbreviation of per [p] has been added by a recent hand, and the e of course erased</i>)
„ (236, 4) ascitis .	<i>om. (BM)</i>
„ („) latronibus .	latrocinii (BM)
„ (236, 6) duobus mili- bus	milibus v. (φ)
„ („) ex fuga .	<i>om.</i>
30, 2 (236, 10) duabus legioni- bus .	legionibus duabus (χBM)
31, 1 (236, 2) Dumnaco .	deunaco
„ (237, 3) accisas .	occisas
31, 2 (237, 6) Dumnaco .	deunaco
31, 4 (237, 11) Aremoricae .	armoricae (X)
31, 5 (237, 13) Dumnacus .	Deunacus
32, 1 (237, 4) iam .	tam
„ (237, 5) consistent .	construunt
33, 1 (237, 3) quo .	quod (a)
„ (238, 8) excelssissimo .	celsissimo (a)
34, 1 (238, 4) fortunae .	fortitudine
34, 4 (238, 16) possit .	posset (a)
35, 1 (238, 1) considunt .	considet
„ (238, 2) longius .	longe
35, 2 (238, 5) resistit .	restitit (X)
35, 4 (239, 9) gererentur .	agerentur
„ (239, 12) facit .	fecit (a)
36, 1 (239, 3) non .	non longe (a)
„ (239, 4) perterreri .	perterritos (a)
„ (239, 5) et .	<i>om. (a)</i>
„ (239, 6) neminem .	nemine
36, 2 (239, 10) in trina .	intra (a)
36, 3 (239, 14) esse fluminis .	fluminis esse (Sβ)
„ (239, 16) que .	<i>om.</i>
36, 4 (239, 18) omnibus ex .	ex omnibus
36, 5 (240, 21) omnibusque .	omnibus
37, 2 (240, 2) externoque .	Hesterno
„ (240, 3) et .	ex
38, 1 (240, 2) Bellovacis .	belgis (BM)
38, 2-3 (240, 4-5) timentes . . .	<i>om.</i> venisset
38, 3 (240, 10) belli .	<i>om.</i>
„ („) Cotuatam .	gutruatum
„ („) deposcit .	depoposcit (BM)

MEUSEL	LOV.
38, 5 (240, 13) contra natu- ram suam Caesar maxi- mo militum concursu	Caesar contra nat- uram suam con- cursu maximo militum
„ (240, 14) ei .	<i>om. (BM)</i>
39, 2 (241, 5) sibi .	ibi
39, 3 (241, 9) si .	<i>om.</i>
„ (241, 10) potuissent .	possent
39, 4 (241, 11) Calenum .	<i>om. (a blank space is left)</i>
„ („) duabus .	<i>om. (BM)</i>
„ (241, 12) se .	<i>om. (BM)</i>
40, 1 (241, 1) Caesar .	<i>om. (BM)</i>
„ (241, 2) omnium .	omnium caesar (BM)
„ (241, 3) posse, magna autem	posse autem
„ (241, 5) abundare .	<i>om.</i>
40, 3 (241, 9) flumen .	Hoc (a)
„ (241, 10) nullam in par- tem	nulla ex parte
40, 4 (242, 14) recipere .	recipi
41, 1 (242, 1) omnis postea .	postea omnis
„ („) aequatum in .	equitorum
„ (242, 2) unum .	unum in (a)
41, 2 (242, 7) extruere .	instruere (a)
41, 4 (242, 13) venas .	uineas ([ueneas M ¹]X)
41, 5 (242, 15) altitudinem .	altitudine
„ („) pedum LX .	pedes sex (X)
„ (242, 17) adaequaret .	aequaret (BM)
„ (243, 18) superaret fon- tis fastigium	superare fontis fastigium posset (χ BM)
41, 6 (243, 20) aquari .	aequari
„ (243, 21) hominum .	hostium (a)
42, 1 (243, 1) cupas .	cuppas
„ („) sebo .	seuo (a)
„ („) scandulis .	scindulis
„ (243, 2) eodemque .	eodem (Sβ)
42, 2 (243, 5) in .	ex
„ („) existit .	exitit (ap)
42, 3 (243, 8) periculoso .	periculo
„ (243, 9) iniquo .	<i>om.</i>
42, 4 (243, 10) excelso .	et excelso (a)
„ (243, 11) magnusque .	magnus
„ (243, 12) itaque .	ita (BM)
„ („) prout erat .	poterat (X)
„ (243, 13) testatior .	<i>om.</i>
43, 1 (243, 3) occupandorum	occupatorum
43, 4 (244, 9) amissa siti suorum	suorum amissa siti
„ (244, 10) permanerent .	permanebant (c)
44, 1 (244, 1) lenitatem .	leuitatem
44, 2 (244, 9) indignitate .	indignatione
44, 3 (244, 14) committebat .	commendabat
„ („) commoraturus	moraturus
„ (244, 17) populo Ro- mano	populi romani (B ² M ²)
„ (244, 18) vinctum .	<i>om.</i>
45, 1 (244, 2) que .	<i>om.</i>

MEUSEL	LOV.
45, 1 (245, 3) nullis . .	nulli (<i>Q^aSβ</i>)
45, 2 (245, 4) redigit . .	redegit
„ (245, 5) virtutis . .	uirtutem
46, 1 (245, 2) gestas . .	geri (<i>a</i>)
„ (245, 4) ipse . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
„ („) sed . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
46, 2 (245, 7) sicuti . .	sicut
46, 3 (245, 10) cum praesidio equitum	praesidio ('equi- tum (<i>a</i>)
„ („) Narbonem . .	narbonam (<i>χβ</i>)
46, 4 (245, 13) < et Q. > Tul- lio	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
„ (245, 15) Turonis . .	turones ([<i>tor.</i> <i>BM¹</i>] <i>a</i>)
46, 5 (245, 19) ipse paucos dies	Paucos dies ipse (<i>χBM</i>)
„ (245, 20) percucurrisset	percurrisset
46, 6 (246, 24) his . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
„ (246, 25) recepit hiber- navitque	recipit hibernatque (<i>BM</i>)
47, 2 (246, 3) Atrebatium . .	atrebatum ([<i>adr.</i> <i>BM¹</i>] <i>a</i>)
„ (246, 6) ne . .	<i>om.</i>
48, 2 (246, 6) saepius equites eius	eius saepius equi- tes
48, 3 (246, 11) repente . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>BMπ</i>)
„ (247, 12) imposita . .	interpositam
48, 5 (247, 17) medium femur eius magnis viribus tra- icit	magnis uulneribus [uiribus <i>a</i>] me- dium femur tra- icit uoluseni (<i>a</i>)
48, 7 (247, 22) graviter . .	ac si proelio secun- do grauiter ab eo (<i>BM</i>)
48, 8 (247, 24) suo dolore . .	dolore suo
„ (247, 27) facturum, quae imperarit	quae imperarit fac- tutum

MEUSEL	LOV.
48, 8 (247, 27) datis . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
48, 9 (247, 28) illud orat . .	orat illud
„ („) conspectum . .	conspectu
48, 10 (247, 34) propterea . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>Sβ</i>)
„ („) L. Paulo, C.	P. lentulo et
„ (247, 35) nullas res Gal- liae habet magno opere gestas	nullas habet mag- nopere galliae res gestas (<i>BM</i>)
49, 1 (248, 1) in Belgio cum	cum in belgio (<i>Sβ</i>)
„ (248, 2) nulli . .	nullam (<i>M</i>)
„ (248, 4) decessum . .	discessu (<i>χ</i>)
„ („) suum . .	suo (<i>a</i>)
49, 3 (248, 9) nova . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>a</i>)
50, 1 (248, 1) in Italiam . .	<i>om.</i>
50, 2 (248, 7) Antonii . .	M. Antonii
„ (248, 8) decedentis . .	decentis
50, 3 (248, 12) atque . .	et
50, 4 (248, 13) insequentis . .	sequentis (<i>a</i>)
„ (248, 14) petitione . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
„ (249, 19) necessitudine . .	consuetudine (<i>a</i>)
51-3 (249, 1-250, 9) Exceptus est . . . sed admonebantur	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
53, 2 (250, 9) pararent . .	sperarent (<i>a</i>)
54, 1 (250, 2) Cn. . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>Sβ</i>)
„ (251, 3) duae . .	hae duae (<i>Sβ</i>)
54, 2 (251, 4) Pompeius . .	cg. pompeius
„ (251, 6) Caesaris . .	caesari (<i>a</i>)
54, 3 (251, 9) in . .	ex
54, 4 (251, 12) C. . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>BM</i>)
54, 5 (251, 16) et . .	<i>om.</i> (<i>a</i>)
55, 1 (251, 2) missas . .	remissas (<i>a</i>)
„ (251, 3) Parthicum bel- lum	bellum parthicum (<i>Sβ</i>)
„ („) Pompeio . .	gn. [CN. <i>a</i>] pom- peio

[This collation has been made twice. In regard to a few readings, Mr. A. Hughes-Hughes of the British Museum kindly gave me his opinion, which confirmed my own.]

T. RICE HOLMES.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *CULEX*.¹

THE object of the following paper is to examine in detail the relations between the contents of the poem called the *Culex* and the acknowledged writings of Virgil. The reader will find that these relations are more numerous and far more intimate than has hitherto been pointed out. They seem to warrant an inference as to the authorship of the poem, which in itself may claim high probability, and which when combined with the external evidence appears to the present writer to reach the level of a practical certainty. In what follows, all statements as to the readings of the manuscripts are based upon Professor A. E. Housman's paper on *The Apparatus Criticus of the Culex* (Cambridge Philological Society Transactions, Vol. VI, Part I, 1908), unless other authorities are expressly cited. I have followed Professor Ellis's text, except where Professor Housman's evidence makes some other reading more probable.

Before turning to the similarities in lines, phrases, and sequences of words between the *Culex* and the acknowledged writings of Virgil, it would perhaps be well to recount briefly the external evidence of the authorship of the poem, and any internal evidence bearing upon its date.

§ 1. *External Evidence of Authorship.*

(a) First we have the evidence of Martial XIV 185:

accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis,

and VIII 56:

protinus Italiam concepit et arma uirumque

qui modo uix Culicem fleuerat ore rudi.

(b) Suetonius in his *Life of Lucan* (ed. Reifferscheid, p. 50), gives indisputable evidence of the belief of the Neronian age 'Qui (i.e. Lucan) tantae leuitatis et tam immoderatae linguae fuit ut in praefatione quadam aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere "et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem?"'

¹ This paper is part of the results of a study of the *Appendix Vergiliana* pursued by me as Faulkner Fellow of the University of Manchester at Newnham College, Cambridge, and under the

guidance of Professor R. S. Conway, of Manchester, who asks me to state that he entirely accepts the conclusions to which I have been led.

- (c) Statius in the *Silvae* II 7. 70 addressing Lucan :
 tu Pelusiaci scelus Canopi
 deflebis pius et Pharo cruenta
 Pompeio dabis altius sepulchrum ;
 haec primo iuuenis canes sub aeuo
 ante annos Culicis Maroniani.

(d) Further in the Life of Virgil attributed to Donatus we have a definite statement 'Deinde Catalecton et Priapeia et Epigrammata et Diras, item Cirim et Culicem cum esset annorum XVI, cuius materia talis est. pastor fatigatus aestu cum sub arbore obdormisset, et serpens ad illum proriperet e palude, culex prouolauit atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit pastori. at ille continuo culicem attriuit et serpentem interemit, ac sepulchrum culici statuit et distichon fecit :

parue culex, pecudum custos, tibi tale merenti
 funeris officium uitae pro munere reddit.'

Suet. Rel. (ed. Reifferscheid), p. 58.

These are the lines with which our poem ends. The latest estimate of the value of this evidence, with some discussion of the problem of the authorship as a whole, will be found in an article by Professor J. W. Mackail (*Virgil and Virgilianism, Classical Review*, XXII, p. 72 ; May, 1908), who leaves the question open, though manifestly inclining to a belief that Virgil wrote the poem.

§ 2. Evidence of Date.

Into the question of the date of the poem come firstly metrical considerations. The small number of elisions (about 12 in each 100 verses) has been adduced as a reason against assigning the poem to the period of Virgil's youth. Inferences of date from the number of elisions are, however, not trustworthy. Skutsch¹ points out that as early as 40 B.C. Horace wrote *Epode* XVI, in the hexameters of which (thirty-three in number) there is not a single elision.²

Secondly, there is the question of the identity of the Octavius to whom the poem is addressed (*Octaui uenerande*, ll. 1, 25). The evidence seems clearly to point to the conclusion that C. Octavius, afterwards Caesar Octavianus, is meant ; in that case the poem must be dated before 44 B.C., since in that year Octavius took the name of Octavianus,³ unless indeed it is maintained that the whole dedication was a pious and laborious fraud, written with the purpose of assigning the poem to that precise epoch.

§ 3. Some Striking Similarities.

We may next consider similarities of word or phrase, or sequence of words or sounds, in the *Culex* and in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. Let us take first the most striking.

¹ Also Leo in his edition of the *Culex*, p. 16.

² For statistics of the number of elisions in different writers, v. Skutsch, *Aus Vergil's Frühzeit*, p. 130. For further evidence on this point, and on the correspondence of ictus and

accent in the last three feet of the hexameter, v. Professor W. R. Hardie's article in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXX., No. 60, p. 266.

³ Skutsch, *Aus Vergil's Frühzeit*, p. 134.

(a) We have in the description of the snake, *Cul.* 179:

ardet mente, furit stridoribus, intonat ore,

and in *Aen.* VI 607 in a description of Tisiphone:

exurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore.

It has been argued from this weaker use of *intonat* that we must place the *Culex* later than 44 B.C.; but Skutsch (*Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, p. 128) brings forward conclusive proof from Cicero of the early weakening of the force of *intonare*.

It would seem that the phrase *intonat ore* is not so good in its application to a snake as to Tisiphone, but we cannot conclude from that that the *Culex* took it from the *Aeneid*; it is equally probable that the author of the *Aeneid* took the phrase and improved it by a different application. (The reading *insonat* of the fifteenth-century Codex Corinianus seems hardly likely to be genuine.)

(b) *Cul.* 275

nec faciles Ditis, sine iudice, sedes.

According to Professor Robinson Ellis's statement the reading *Ditis* is given by all MSS. but one.

Aen. VI 431

nec uero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes.

The phrase is sufficiently striking to make it probable that its occurrence in both poems is not a coincidence merely. The line in the *Aeneid* is undoubtedly more powerful. Aeneas has passed by Cerberus and come to the regions of the damned:

nec uero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes.

quaesitor Minos urnam mouet; ille silentum
conciliumque uocat uitasque et crimina discit.

In the *Culex* the line occurs in the Orpheus episode (269 sqq.):

audax ille quidem, qui mitem Cerberon unquam
credidit aut ulli Ditis placabile numen,¹
nec timuit Phlegethonta furem ardentibus undis,
nec maesta obtenta Ditis ferrugine regna
ecfossasque domos ac Tartara nocte cruenta
obsita, nec faciles Ditis, sine iudice, sedes
iudice, qui uitae post mortem uindicat acta.

The thought is the same in both cases, a place in Tartarus, as in Elysium, must be earned; there is a judge even there.

Now, if it be acknowledged that the line in the *Aeneid* is the stronger, we have to ask why the author of the *Culex* should borrow merely to weaken what he takes. His own writing forbids our assuming that he would have been ignorant of the inferiority.

¹ This line we may, without hesitation, consider Virgilian.

(c) We come next to a passage in the *Culex* which has a distinct resemblance to two Virgilian passages :

Cul. 291 sqq.

sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis, Orpheu.
 oscula cara petens rupisti iussa deorum.
 dignus amor uenia, gratum, si Tartara nossent,
 peccatum; meminisse grauest.

That is, Orpheus proved more cruel to Eurydice than the spirits whose treatment she has just experienced in the Underworld. The preceding lines are :

illa quidem nimium manis experta seueros
 praeceptum signabat iter, nec rettulit intus
 lumina nec diuae corrumpit munera lingua.

L. 291 recalls lines in *Ecl.* VIII 49 sqq. :

crudelis tu quoque, mater.
 crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
 improbus ille puer. crudelis tu quoque, mater.

Again, the *Eclogue* gives the far more finished version of the two.

L. 293 recalls *Georgics* IV 489 (the subject is the same, the story of Orpheus and Eurydice) :

ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes.

The thought is the same; in the second case its expression is perfect. Would any borrower have spoilt its simplicity by multiplying words with no gain in thought?

(d) The connection between *Cul.* 58 sqq., *Georg.* II 458 sqq., and *Lucr.* II 14 sqq. is pointed out by Skutsch, *Aus Vergil's Frühzeit*, p. 129.

The three passages all deal with the joys of life in the country, and are very similar in construction.

(i) Each begins with an exclamation :

o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca (*Lucr.*).
 o fortunatos nimium (*Georg.*).
 o bona pastoris (*Culex*).

(ii) All three continue with a *si* clause with reference to the evils of life in the city :

si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes (*Lucr.*).
 sua si bona norint (*Georg.* II).
 si quis non pauperis usum | mente prius docta fastidiat (*Culex*).

(iii) All turn in the second instance to the joys of a country life. Lucretius with a *cum* clause :

cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli, etc.

The *Georgics* and *Culex* both with *at* :

at *secura quies et nescia fallere uita* (*Georg.*).

at *pectore puro*

saepe super tenero prosternit gramine corpus (*Culex*).

The three passages are very closely akin in spirit, although Virgil recalls Lucretius in but few single words or phrases (*aedibus*, *Georg.* II 462; *aedes*, *Lucr.* II 24; *mollesque sub arbore somni*, *Georg.* II 470; *prostrati in gramine molli*, *Lucr.* II 29).

The *Culex* recalls definitely two of Lucretius' phrases :

sub laqueare domus (*Culex*).

laqueata aurataque templa (*Lucr.*).

prosternit gramine corpus (*Culex*).

prostrati in gramine molli (*Lucr.*).

There can be no doubt that both the poet of the *Culex* and the poet of the *Georgics* are indebted to Lucretius.

Cul. 70, 71

florida cum tellus gemmantis picta per herbas

uere notat dulci distincta coloribus arua

seem to show some connection with Lucretius'

praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni

tempora conspargunt uiridantis floribus herbas.

In one instance the *Culex* definitely recalls the *Georgics*.

Cul. 62

si non Assyrio feruent¹ bis lauta colore

Attaliciis opibus data uellera

at once makes us turn to

alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana ueneno (*Georg.* II).

Although the second passage far transcends the first in strength and feeling, the two passages can hardly be independent. Note the precisely identical position of *Assyrio* and the negative before it, and the close metrical resemblance of the two lines.

§ 4. Resemblances to *Eclogue* VI.

There is a striking number of resemblances between the *Culex* and *Ecl.* VI.

Cul. I. *lusimus*, *Octaui*, *gracili modulante Thalia* recalls the first two lines of the *Eclogue* :

prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu

nostra, neque erubuit siluas habitare Thalia,

and the first line of the *Eclogue* further suggests *Cul.* 35, 36 :

molli sed tenui decurrere carmina uersu

uiribus acta suis Phoebos duce ludere gaudent,

¹ *Feruent* is Professor Ellis's conjecture for the *fuert* of the MSS.

where, however, there is some doubt about the reading of l. 35; that given is Professor Ellis's.

Cul. 15 seu decus Asteriae seu qua Parnasia rupes,
recalls

Ecl. VI 15 nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes.

Cul. 16 hinc atque hinc patula praepandit cornua fronte.

Ecl. VI 51 et saepe in leui quaesisset cornua fronte.

Cul. 26 sancte puer, tibi namque canit non pagina bellum.

Ecl. VI 12 quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen.

Cul. 81 non auidas agnouit opes nec tristia bella.

Ecl. VI 7 tristia condere bella.

Cul. 100 compacta solitum modulatur harundine carmen.

Ecl. VI 8 agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.

Compare also in the introductory quatrain to the *Aeneid* (which it is hard to deny to Virgil) *gracili modulatus auena*.

With *Culex* 134 quam comitabantur fatalia carmina quercus
and 143 ipsaeque escendunt ad summa cacumina lentae,
we may compare

Ecl. VI 28 tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus.

The *non tantum* of *Cul.* 117,

non tantum Oeagrius Hebrum
restantem tenuit ripis siluasque canendo,

esembles *Ecl.* VI 29 sq.

nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes,

nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.

Cul. 202 et piger aurata procedit Vesper ab Oeta
cum grege compulso pastor, etc.,

comes clearly into connection with

cogere donec oues stabulis numerumque referri
iussit et inuito processit Vesper Olympo (*Ecl.* VI 86).

We find both in this *Eclogue*, 62, 63 and in the *Culex*, 126 sqq. an allusion to Phaethon and his sisters, and (*Cul.* 252; *Ecl.* VI 79) to Procne and Philomela.

§ 5. Further resemblances to the *Eclogues*.

Resemblances to the other *Eclogues* in sound or meaning seem to be fairly numerous.

Cul. 76 illi sunt gratae rorantes lacte capellae

beside *Ecl.* X 77 ite domum, saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae.

Cul. 112 quae gelidis bacchata iugis requieuit in antro

and *Cul.* 157 pastor ut ad fontem densa requieuit in umbra

beside *Ecl.* VII 10 et si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra,
and *Aen.* VI 418 (Cerberus) personat, aduerso recubans inmanis in
antro

and the rather striking combination of *bacchari* with *gelidis iugis* will remind every lover of the *Georgics* of II 481 sqq.:

o ubi campi
Spercheosque et uirginibus bacchata Lacaenis
Taygeta! o qui me gelidis conuallibus Haemi
sistat et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!

Cul. 146 at uolucres patulis residentes dulcia ramis
beside *Ecl.* I 1 Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.

Cul. 153 argutis et cuncta fremunt ardore cicadis
beside *Ecl.* II 13 sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis
and *Georg.* III 328 et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae.

Cul. 159 anxius insidiis nullis sed lentus in herbis,
beside *Ecl.* I 4 nos patriam fugimus; tu Tityre lentus in umbra.

Cul. 204 cum grege compulso pastor duplicantibus umbris
beside *Ecl.* II 67 et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras.

Cul. 390 riuum propter aquae uiridi sub fronde latentem
beside *Ecl.* VIII 88 propter aquae riuum uiridi procumbit in ulua
and also beside *Georg.* III 13. See below, § 6.

Cul. 393 sqq. gramineam uiridi ut foderet de caespite terram
iam memor inceptum peragens sibi cura laborem
congestum cumulauit opus

beside *Ecl.* I 68 pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen.

Such soft echoes of sound are peculiarly important; they would hardly occur to a mere imitator, but they might well linger in the mind of the poet who first conceived them. If Virgil did not write the *Culex*, it would seem that he must at all events have known it by heart for a long period of years.

Cul. 405 chrysanthusque hederaeque nitor pallente corymbo
and l. 144, which is somewhat similar in ending:

pinguntque aureolos uiridi pallore corymbos
beside *Ecl.* III. 39 diffusos hedera uestit pallente corymbos

show a striking resemblance.

§ 6. Resemblances to the *Georgics*.

Similarities to lines in the *Georgics* are also numerous.¹

Consider *Cul.* 20 et tu sancta Pales

beside *Georg.* III 1 Te quoque magna Pales.

Cul. 87. . . illi Panchaia tura

beside *Georg.* II 139 totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis.

¹ Some have been already pointed out. See § 3 (c) and (d); § 5 *Culex*, ll. 157 and 153.

Cul. 89 illi dulcis adest requies et pura uoluptas
libera simplicibus curis

beside *Georg.* II 467 at secura quies et nescia fallere uita.

Cul. 93 iucundoque liget languentia corpora somno
beside *Georg.* IV 252 tristi languerunt corpora morbo.

Leo, in his edition of the *Culex*, p. 47, compares

Cul. 101 sqq. tendit ineuctus radios Hyperionis ardor
lucidaque aethereo ponit discrimina mundo
qua iacit Oceanum flammis in utrumque rapacis

with *Georg.* III 368 sqq. tum sol pollentes haud umquam discutit umbras
nec cum ineuctus equis altum petit aethera, nec cum
praecipitem Oceani rubro lauit aequore currum.

The passage from the *Georgics* is again simpler and more pictorial; but the resemblance between the two is not very close.

Cul. 126 hospita dum nimia tenuit dulcedine captos
with *Georg.* I 412 nescio qua praeter solitum dulcedine laeti.

Cul. 136 illas Triptolemi mutauit sulcus aristis
with *Georg.* I 8 Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit arista.

Cul. 196 sqq. horrida squamosa uoluentia terga draconis
atque reluctantis crebris foedeque petentis
ictibus ossa ferit

in the description of the death of the snake.

Georg. IV 300 huic geminae nares et spiritus oris
multa reluctanti obstruitur

in the death of the calf—*reluctanti* being in the same position in both lines.

Cul. 225 sqq. praemia sunt pietatis ubi, pietatis honores?
in uanas abiire uices, ex rure recessit
iustitiae prior illa fides

(where Leo reads *iustitia et*) has the same thought as *Georg.* II 473-4:
extrema per illos

Iustitia excedens terris uestigia fecit.

There are five passages in the first half of the *Aeneid* which are possibly recollections of this passage:

Aen. I 253 hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptris reponis?

Ib. 461 sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi.

Ib. 605. si quid

usquam iustitia est et mens sibi conscia recti,
praemia digna ferant.

Ib. II 595 quid furis aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?

Ib. VI 878 heu pietas, heu prisca fides!

where *prisca fides* occupies the same position in the line as *illa fides* in the *Culex* passage.

In *Cul.* 231 sq. feror a uia carpens

a uia Cimmerios inter distantia lucos

we have an assonance similar to that in *Georg.* II 238:

a uia tum resonant a uibus uirgulta canoris.

Cul. 236 conati quondam cum sint rescindere mundum.

Georg. I 281 sq. et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres.

ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam

and *Aen.* VI 582 sq. immania uidi

corpora qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum

adgressi.

Cul. 248 atque alias alio densant super agmine turmas.

Georg. I 276 ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna

and *Aen.* II 782 inter opima uirum leni fluit agmine Tiberis.

Note the close structural similarity—metrically an identity—of the last three feet of each of these three lines; the last, of course, may be in every other respect a purely accidental likeness.

Cul. 338 Hellespontiatis obiturus reddidit undis.

Georg. IV 111 Hellespontiati seruet tutela Priapi.

Cul. 390 rium propter aquae uiridi sub fronde latentem

conformare locum capit impiger . . .

and l. 327 quem circum lapidem leui de marmore† formans

with *Georg.* III 13 et uiridi in campo templum de marmore ponam

propter aquam.

Cul. 57 sqq. have already been fully discussed in § 3 (*d*).

§ 7. Resemblances to the *Aeneid*.

There are also a fair number of lines which recall lines in the *Aeneid*.

Cul. 33 non Hellespontus pedibus pulsatus equorum.

Aen. VI 591 aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.

Cul. 42 sqq. igneus aetherias iam Sol penetrarat in arces

candidaque aurato quatiebat lumina curru

crinibus et roseis tenebras Aurora fugarat

might perhaps have some connection with *Aen.* III 521:

iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis.

Cul. 75 Tmolia pampineo subter coma uelat amictu.

Aen. VIII 33 eum tenuis glauco uelabat amictu.

and *Aen.* III 545 et capita ante aras Phrygio uelamur amictu.

Cul. 76 illi sunt gratae rorantes lacte capellae.

Aen. XII 512 suspendit capita et rorantia sanguine portat.

This use of *roro* with the ablative is found also in

Aen. VIII 645 et sparsi rorabant sanguine uepres

and XI 8 aptat rorantes sanguine cristas

and again in Quint. *Decl.* 4. 8 Quotiens, me hercule, haec uulnera et rorantia hostili cruore arma conspexi, animum supra necessitates erigo, supra fatum pono.

Cul. 85 aduersum saeuis ultro caput hostibus offert.

Aen. VI 291 Aeneas strictamque aciem uenientibus offert.

Cul. 158 mitem concepit proiectus membra soporem,
and even more 207 :

languidaque effuso requierunt membra sopore
show likeness to

Aen. VIII 406

placidumque petiuit

coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.

Cul. 169 iam magis atque magis corpus reuolubile uoluens

with *Aen.* XII 238-9 talibus incensa est iuuenum sententia dictis

iam magis atque magis serpitque per agmina murmur.

Cul. 172 edita purpureo lucens maculatur amictu,

with *Aen.* III 405 purpureo uelare comas adopertus amictu.

Cul. 175. acrior instat

with *Aen.* X 657 nec Turnus segnior instat.

Cf. also *ib.* IX 350 feruidus instat.

Cul. 182. cui cuncta paranti

paruulus hunc prior umoris conterret alumnus

with *Aen.* X 554 tum caput orantis nequiquam et multa parantis

dicere deturbat terra.

Cul. 192 et ualidum dextra detraxit ab arbore truncum

with *Aen.* VI 141 auricomos quam qui decerpserit arbore fetus

(so Cod. Corsin. ; but *truncum detraxit ab orno* is perhaps the better attested version of the line in the *Culex*).

Cul. 205 sqq. uadit et in fessos requiem dare comparat artus,

cuius ut intrauit leuior per corpora somnus

languidaque effuso requierunt membra sopore.

recalls *Aen.* IV 522-3 :

nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem

corpora per terras.

Cul. 211 sq. quis, inquit, meritis ad quae delatus acerbis

cogor adire uices

recalls *Aen.* I 8 sqq. :

quo numine laeso

quidue dolens regina deum tot uoluere casus

insignem pietate uirum tot adire labores

impulerit.

Cul. 215 uiscera Lethaeas cogunt tranare per undas,
recalls *Aen.* VI 461, 2:

sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras
per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam.

Cul. 220, 221 Cerberus et diris latrantia rictibus ora
anguibus hinc atque hinc horrent cui colla reflexis
(*horrent*: this reading of Cod. Helmst. for the *arent* of the other MSS. seems almost certain)

with *Aen.* VI 417 sqq.:

Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
personat, aduerso recubans immanis in antro.
cui uates, horrere uidens iam colla colubris

The rhythm of the endings *cui colla reflexis* and *iam colla colubris* is identical.

Cul. 222 sanguinei que micant ardorem luminis orbes

with *Aen.* X 396 semianimes que micant digiti ferrumque retractant,

both clearly a recollection of Ennius' *semianimesque micant oculi*.

Cf. also *Cul.* 237 et Tityos, Latona, tuae memor anxius irae.

and *Aen.* I 4 saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram.

Here the transference of the adjective *memor* to *ira* is a perceptible gain in strength.

Cul. 240 ad Stygias reuocatus aquas. uix ultimus amni
restat nectareas diuum qui prodidit escas

strongly recalls *Aen.* VI 374:

tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque seuerum
Eumenidum aspicias.

Cul. 259. auferor ultra

in diuersa magis distantia nomina¹ cerno

with *Aen.* II 734 ardentes clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.

Cul. 261, 2 obuia Persephone comites heroidas urget
aduersas praeferre faces.

with *Aen.* VII 337 (Juno's command to Allecto):

tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres,
atque odiis uersare domos; tu funera tectis
funereasque inferre faces, tibi nomina mille,
mille nocendi artes.

Note the corresponding position in the lines.

Cul. 315 ending oppositus contra Telamonius heros

with *Aen.* VI 451 quam Troius heros

ut primum iuxta stetit.

¹ The MSS. here vary between *nomina* and *numina*.

Cul. 322 sqq. hoc erat Aeacides uultu laetatus honore
Dardaniaeque alter fuso quod sanguine campis
Hectoreo uictor lustrauit corpore Troiam

with *Aen.* I 97 sqq. o terque quaterque beati
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide, mene Iliacis occumbere campis
non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
saeuus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uoluit.

Cul. 354 sqq. immoriturque super fluctus et saxa Capherei
Euboicas aut per cautes Aegaeaeque late
litora.

with *Aen.* XI 259 sqq. scit triste Mineruae
sidus et Euboicae cautes ultorque Caphareus

Cul. 360 omnes Roma decus magni quos suspicit orbis.

with *Aen.* VI 697, 8 medium nam plurima turba
hunc habet atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis

where *suspicit* is in the same position in the line.

Cul. 378 cum mihi tu sis causa mali.

with *Aen.* VI 93 causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris.

Cul. 394 iam memor inceptum peragens sibi cura laborem
congestum cumulauit opus.

with *Aen.* IV 452 quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque re-
linquat.

The list of parallels seems sufficiently striking to oblige us to assume either that the poet of the *Culex* knew Virgil's writings most intimately, and borrowed from them continually, but nearly always spoilt what he borrowed; or else that Virgil knew the *Culex* almost by heart at all periods of his poetical activity. The evidence in many cases, as we have seen, would point to Virgil as the borrower. The resemblances, further, are of such a kind as to give reasonable ground for maintaining that Virgil was merely reusing what was his own.

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TEXTUAL NOTES.

I.

THUCYDIDES iii. 51. 4.

ὥς . . . ἐξεργάσατο of MSS. is generally corrected to the third person plural, but it would be more like Thucydides to write ἐξείργαστο: this would then be another instance of the corruption of pluperfects, such as ἤγγελλτο into ἤγγέλλετο and the like, of which many instances are given by Cobet in *Nov. Lect.* 422, *Var. Lect.* 253. In the old edition of Poppo, 1826, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 297, ἐξήργαστο is given as contained in *Cod. Bas. ex emend.*, but it is not noticed by Poppo-Stahl or recent editors. 'Ως with the pluperfect is Thucydidean: Mr. Marchant on ii. 59 refers to iii. 23, 1; 26, 4; 27, 1; 69, 2. See the remarks of Poppo in vol. i. part ii. p. 44 sq. on this MS.

II.

THUCYDIDES iv. 32. 1.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους φύλακας, οἷς ἐπέδραμον, εὐθὺς διαφθείρουσιν ἐν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα, λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, οἰόμενων αὐτῶν τὰς ναῦς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐς ἄφορμον τῆς νυκτὸς πλεῖν.

This is Mr. Stuart Jones' text; Hude with MSS. καὶ λαθόντες: but the more important thing is the construction of λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν. There appears to be no grammatical justification for the ordinary translation 'unobserved in the landing,' as Hude saw, when he gave <ἐς> τὴν ἀπόβασιν. Rutherford was on the right track when he suggested λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν <ποησάμενοι>. But a correction easier palaeographically is λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν <ποιούμενοι>, οἰόμενων κ.τ.λ. This is an easy example of lipography. The tense of the participles presents no difficulty; indeed ποιούμενοι gives the required sense better than the aorist.

III.

THUCYDIDES vi. 62. 4.

καὶ τὰνδράποδα ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. ἀπέδοσαν is an old crux, and ἐγένοντο is not free from difficulty. There is little doubt that ἀπέδοσαν is wrong and that Bekker's conjecture ἀπέδοντο is right; but it is not at first sight easy to discover the cause of the corruption. But on looking at § 3 we shall at once see it: καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες τὴν πόλιν παρέδοσαν Ἑγεσταίοις, παρεγένοντο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἱππῆς: the memory of the five spaced words in the previous sentence led the writer astray. As a corollary, ἐγένοντο may without hesitation be corrected to ἐγένετο, and so Herwerden wrote, on the general principle which now arises for consideration.

It may be observed that this passage afforded one of the two hitherto unquestioned examples in Thucydides of a plural verb with a neuter plural, the other being v. 26. 2. The five other examples are regarded as very doubtful by modern editors. v. 75. *Κάρνεια ἐτύγχανον ὄντα* has been corrected even by such cautious editors as Mr. Stuart Jones and Hude; that corruption is due to the diplography of —ον—: the other places where festivals are mentioned in Thucydides have the singular verb: viii. 9. 1. *Ἰσθμια ἃ τότε ἦν*, viii. 10. 1. *Ἰσθμια ἐγένετο*. i. 126. 5. for *ἐπῆλθον Ὀλύμπια, ἐπῆλθεν* is now adopted with MSS. authority by these editors. In v. 26. 1. Herwerden and Mr. Stuart Jones adopt *ἔτη τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο* for *ἐγένοντο* of CG.; in vi. 13. 1. Göller's conjecture *ἐλάχιστα κατορθοῦνται* for MSS. —οῦνται is adopted by Mr. Marchant. In viii. 10. 1. *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ Ἰσθμια ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ) ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* and not *Ἰσθμια* is the subject to *ἐπηγγέλθησαν*. The only remaining place is v. 26. 2. *ἐς ἅλλα ἀμφοτέροις ἀμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο*. Badham suggested *ἀμαρτίαι* or *ἀμαρτάδες*; here even Herwerden retains the plural: but special pleading has to be called in to justify it, and we may well ask whether it ought not to share the fate of the other examples, and submit to the correction *ἐγένετο*. See for the whole question Herwerden *Studia Thucydidea* p. 137.

IV.

TEBTUNIS PAPYRI, p. 3.

1. 1. *ξουθὰ δ' ἐγγύφων' ὄρνεα*
†διεφεταν ἐρῆμον δρίος ἄκροις ἐπὶ κλωσὶ
πίτυος ἤμεν' ἐμινύριζ' ἐτιττύβιζεν.

In the first line Dr. Hunt tells me that Wilamowitz reads *λιγύφωνα*, which even from the facsimile is almost preferable to *ἐγγύφωνα*.

The lines are Anacreontic and may be written thus, with an emendation in l. 2: *Ξουθὰ δὲ λιγύφωνα | ὄρνεα διεφοῖτα | ἀν' ἐρῆμον δρίος, ἄκροις τ' | ἐπὶ κλωσὶ πίτυος ἤμεν' | ἐμινύριζ' ἐτιττύβιζεν.*

διεφοῖτα ἀν' ἐρῆμον, that is, *διεφοῖτα <ἀ>ν'*, lipography of one letter: or perhaps *διεφοῖτα <τ' ἀν'>*.

φοιτᾶν is used of birds in β 182; Eur. *Ion* 156, *Hippol.* 1057.

τοὺς ἄνω

φοιτῶντας ὄρνεις πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω.

Blass gave *ἄκροις <τ'>*: he saw that an imperfect at the beginning of the line was required, but his *διεπέτετ'* is metrically objectionable. The corruption *διεφετα* perhaps began with the mistake *διεφοτα*.

V.

TEBTUNIS PAPYRI, p. 3.

Str. *ὦ φανεὶς χάρμα μοι*
φίλον, οτεμνηγας,
ὅτε δόρατι πολεμῶ
τὰν Φρυγῶν

5 πόλιν ἐπόρθεις, μόνα
 τὰμὰ κομίσαι θέλων
 λέχεα πάλιν εἰς πάτραν.
 Antist. νῦν δὲ μούναν μ' ἀφείς
 ἄλοχον, ἄστοργ', ἄπεις,
 10 ἦν Δαναϊδᾶν λόχος
 ἔμολεν,
 ἥς ἔνεκα παῖδα τὰν
 ἄγαμον εἴλ' Ἄρτεμις,
 τὸν σφάγιον Ἀγαμέμνονι ;

This seems to be the best arrangement of the lines.

In line 2 the Cretic metre may be restored by reading φίλον ὅτ' ἔμ' <ἔμ'> ἡγάπας : the resolved long syllable is frequent in this piece ; cf. 3, 7, 14. *Hephaest.* ch. xiii.

In ll. 10 and 11, as the Editors have seen, a preposition is imperatively required : this may be given, and the metre restored at the same time, by <ἐπ>έμολεν. The writer of this Papyrus would appear to have been prone to lipography : see note iv, above.

In l. 14 τὸν is rightly deleted by Grenfell and Hunt.

VI.

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, vol. iii. p. 72.

No. 425. l. 8 sqq.

πελάγους καὶ Νείλου γονίμου.

The metre of all the other lines is

≡ - ≡ - - - - ; a cretic in place of a dactyl in the latter part of this line only seems improbable.

The character of the handwriting and the inferior spelling point, in the Editors' judgment, to the piece being a copy for a school exercise. καὶ Νείλου may well be another mistake due to the recollection of καὶ Νειλῶται in l. 4, and we may conjecture here

πελάγους Νείλου τε γονίμου.

VII.

FAYŪM TOWNS PAPYRI, p. 85.

l. 16.

τὴν νηχομένην σε . . μν [. .] . [.] α

Grenfell and Hunt say that the doubtful σ may be δ, and that ω may be read in the place of the doubtful μ. That will permit us to propose δ' ἐρύων, which with their suggestion τρίχα gives a good sense.

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ΟΡΩ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΙΝΕΟΥΣΑΝ

(SOPH. *El.* 610).

No tragic poet uses the phrase μένος πνέουσαν, except Aeschylus, who employs it in describing the Erinyes, not a Greek maiden. Similarly Homer of his 'Mut-schnaubende' heroes and of the savage steeds of Diomed. Hence, in the Sophoclean passage, some scribe may have mistaken the familiar ΜΕΝΟΠΙΝΕΟΥΤΑΝ for the more unusual ΜΕΝΕΙCΤΝΟΤΑΝ. Initial C attached itself to the preceding word, and ΤΝΟΤΑΝ became ΠΙΝΟΤΑΝ, which was promptly changed to πνέουσαν.

All difficulties vanish in this puzzling passage, if we adopt the reading suggested. The chorus is speaking of Electra: ὀρώ μένει χρωμένην· εἰ δὲ σὺν δίκη χρῆται, οὐδὲν φροντίζει. Her mother takes up 'φροντίδα,' not in answer to a criticism of the chorus (as some scholars believe), but in reply to her daughter's final declaration: σχεδόν τι τὴν σὴν οὐ καταισχύνω φύσιν. This καταισχύνω is an echo of Clytemnestra's previous αἰσχύνειν (518), κακοστομοῦμεν (596), ἀναιδείας πλέαν (607). Now the chorus, in 610-611, is reproving the undutiful daughter, who is speaking αἰσχύνης ἄτερ, as her mother maintains (615); and Electra, in her rejoinder, shows that she understands the reproach, and she defends herself by contending that she has αἰσχύνῃ, in spite of her mother's belief: her mother's shameful deeds *force* her to act as though she had none. Cp. Clytemnestra's outburst in 622, ὦ θρέμμ' ἀναιδές. Consequently, in the passage under discussion, the chorus simply avers that Electra is acting ἀναισχύντως, ἀδίκως, that is, οὐ σὺν δίκη μένει ξύνεστιν. Having lost all self-control, she is acting ἔξω δίκης (*Fr.* 226); whether she be right, of this (τοῦδε) she takes no thought.

The common form of the phrase in the *sermo familiaris* was ἐν δίκη, which was also employed in tragedy (*Fr.* 673), as well as simple δίκη (*Eur. Fr.* 834); but σὺν δίκη was not unusual (*Aesch. Eum.* 610). Both idiom and sense point to the fact that ξύνεστιν here harks back to something beyond σὺν δίκη.

For the expression μένει ξύνεστι we may compare *O. T.* 303 νόσφ' σύνεστιν, η 270 ξυνέσεσθαι οἰζυῖ, *Eur. Heracl.* 996 συνοικίην φόβφ. But συνεῖναι is συζῆν, and συζῆν is χρῆσθαι (*Dem.* i. 14; *Ar. Ran.* 959; *Plut. Mor.* 383 B). Hence μένει συνοῦσαν = μένει χρωμένην. Cp. *O. T.* 1241 ὀργῇ χρωμένη *Antiph.* 5. 91 ὀργῇ χρῆσαμένους.

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NOTE ON LVCRETIUS, BOOK V., LL. 737-740.

It uer et Venus, et Veneris praenuntius ante
pennatus graditur, Zephyri uestigia propter
Flora quibus mater praespargens ante uiarum
cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.

MUNRO adopts the emendations *veris* for *Veneris* (l. 737) and *Zephyrus* for *Zephyri* (l. 708), making Zephyrus the 'winged harbinger of Spring.' As to the order of the procession, Munro takes one view in his translation and another in his notes: according to the latter it is 'Zephyrus, Spring, Venus, Flora,' the flowers springing up where Spring, Venus, and Zephyrus have trodden: according to the translation it is 'Flora, Zephyrus, Spring, Venus.' Duff, in his edition, adheres to the MSS. reading as printed above: *Veneris praenuntius pennatus* is Cupid, and the order of the procession is 'Zephyrus, Flora (his wife), Cupid, Spring and Venus (or Venus and Spring).' With this reading and interpretation, which are probably right, *quibus* goes in construction with *praespargens*: Munro, reading *Zephyrus*, takes *quibus* with *uestigia propter*, 'in whose tracks' (perhaps with *praespargens* as well), so that with his reading his note is right and his translation—'along the path they tread mother Flora straws all the way before them'—is wrong, or at least not so probable, as *quibus propter uestigia* would be more naturally said of one following behind.

What is to be made of the construction of *praespargens ante uiarum cuncta . . . opplet*? Munro's translation is vague, and he has no note on it: Duff says *ante*, 'in front of them,' *uiarum cuncta*, 'the whole path.' This seems to be open to objection on several grounds. First, and perhaps most important, *ante* is quite superfluous with *praespargens*: indeed it is perilously near to nonsense. In the second place *uiarum cuncta* is questionable Latin for 'the whole path': it is not to the point to quote *caerula mundi*, *ultima caeli* and the like, as *cuncta* precludes the idea of a 'partitive' genitive. The grammarians quote two supposed samples of this *cuncta* with a partitive genitive: (1) Sallust, *Jugurtha*, ch. 93, *quo cuncta gignentium natura fert*, but here *gignentium* depends on *natura*, not on *cuncta*: (2) Horace, *Odes* II. 1 23. *cuncta terrarum subacta*: but here *cuncta terrarum* does not mean *cunctas terras*, as is proved by the following words—*praeter atrocem animum Catonis*—but 'all things in the world.' Finally, if Lucretius had meant *uiarum cuncta* to go together in this unparalleled and strained use, he would surely not have gone out of his way to detach *cuncta*, rhythmically and by its position in a new line, from *uiarum*, but would have omitted the superfluous *ante* and ended his line with *cuncta uiarum*.

For all these reasons it seems preferable to take *uiai* with *ante*, interpreting *ante uiai* as 'the path in front': *uiai* is now a partitive genitive, as in Ennius.

quo uobis mentes . . . sese flexere uiai ?

Ante uiai would be the Greek τὸ πρόσθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ, without emphasizing the substantival character of the expression: it is not much more difficult than, nor very different from, such phrases as *postea loci*. At any rate its difficulty seems to be less than that of *uiai cuncta*, and it will be seen at once that *ante uiai* is not superfluous with *praespargens* in the same sense in which the bare adverb *ante* is superfluous. *Cuncta* must then be taken as the object of *opplet*, 'fills the whole scene,' 'fills all around': cf. in the same book (l. 1376-7), *ut nunc esse uides uario distincta lepore | omnia*. The rhythm of the two last lines gains enormously by this interpretation: *cuncta* takes its proper place in the alliterative juxtaposition with *coloribus*, and the line has a dignity and sweetness in keeping with the beauty of the picture.

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SOME 'VEXED PASSAGES' IN LATIN POETRY.

ENNIVS, *Ann.* 411 (Vahlen), 435 (L. Müller) :

Reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt,
Aedificant nomen : summa nituntur opum ui.

The passage is thought to refer to the efforts of the Macedonians to honour the memory of their dead king. Who are meant by *reges* is not at all clear, and *summa nituntur opum ui*, as we may infer from other passages where the same or a similar expression is used, can hardly refer to anything but the labour of the hands. Probably we ought to read *regis*, i.e. *Philippi*. The lines will then refer to the work of the people.

Again, *aedificant nomen* is not in keeping with the rest of the passage, as just explained, and the expression is so strange that it has generally been suspected. Vahlen actually proposed the monstrosity *aenificant* in his early years, but has now grown wiser : *augificant* (a verb found in *Enn. Scaen.* 103) or *laudificant* would certainly be better. But as the passage obviously refers to the construction of monuments, it is probable that Ennius wrote *aedificant molem* or (if we press the plural meaning of *sepulchra*) *moles*, the former being the more likely.

VARRO, *Sat. Men.*, ap. Non. 314 M (p. 492 Lindsay) :

Vbi graues pascantur atque alantur pauonum greges.

This line comes from the *Gerontodidascalus*, and seems to belong to a passage which denounced the growing luxury and gluttony of the Romans. It is cited by Varro as a proof that *gravis* is used in the sense of *multus*, but neither the other passages quoted by him nor ordinary common sense will allow us to suppose that *graves* ever meant *multi*. It is easy to conjecture *grues* for *graves*. Cranes as well as peacocks were dainty fare to the palate of the Roman epicure (see *Hor. Sat.* II. 8. 87 and other passages cited in the Latin dictionaries).

I may add that when I submitted the above line to my colleague, Mr. W. A. Bain, he independently made the same emendation as I have suggested above.

CATVLLVS, II.

It is a bold thing to attempt a new interpretation of this *carmen uexatissimum*, but as it seems possible by a very slight change in the reading and some alteration of the ordinary punctuation to get a reasonable meaning for the poem, I venture to print the lines with the corrections I would suggest:

Passer, deliciae meae puellae!—
 Quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere,
 Quoi primum digitum dare adpetenti
 Et acris solet incitare morsus,
 Cum desiderio meo nitenti 5
 Carum nescio quid libet iocari:
 Et solaciolum *subit* doloris;
 Credo. ut cum grauis acquiescit ardor,
 Tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem
 Et tristis animi leuare curas! 10

If *sunt* were written for *subit*, the change to *sui* would be almost inevitable: for other instances of emendations based on the substitution of *u* for *b*, see Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, p. 149 (new ed.). *Credo* at the beginning of v. 8 is full of bitterness. According to the interpretation proposed, the meaning of vv. 7-10 is as follows: 'And then some gentle relief for her pain steals over her; I well believe it. Would that I, when the wildness of my passion abates, could play with thee as thy mistress does, and lighten my heart's bitter cares!' Catullus ironically envies Lesbia the power to find so simple a diversion and relief from her heartache.

LXIV. 285 sqq.:

Confestim Penius adest uiridantia Tempe,
 Tempe quae siluae cingunt super impendentes,
 †Minosim linquens †doris celebranda choreis.

This is another 'vexed' passage. Many attempts at emendation have been made. Friedrich strenuously supports Madvig's *Meliasin* for *Minosim*, but his arguments do not seem to do more than show that Madvig's conjecture is as plausible as any of the others. The fact, mentioned by Friedrich, that we do not find in the MSS. of Catullus any instance of the loss of the first syllable of a word at the beginning of a line, tells somewhat against the ingenious *Haemonisin* of Heinsius and similar conjectures. And even if we adopt one of these readings there remains the puzzling *doris*. This has been 'emended' in the wildest fashion (*uariis*, *solitis*, *diuis*, etc.). The old emendation *claris* ('clear-sounding') is favoured by Friedrich, but so familiar a word is not very likely to have been altered. I would suggest as a possible reading—

Maenasin Edonis linquens, celebranda choreis.

If *linquens* were accidentally omitted and then written above the line, it might easily, of course, have been introduced in the wrong place by a copyist. It is easy to see how a corruption like that of V could have arisen from the following :

linquens
Menasinedonis celebranda choreis.

donis would naturally be changed to *doris*, which was intended to mean, and might indeed mean 'Dorian' (= *Doriis*; for this form of dat. plur. see Friedrich *ad loc.*). The region of Mount Edonus was celebrated for its Bacchic rites, as many passages in the Latin poets show. The geographical confusion of localities in the northern part of Greece is too frequent to require illustration.

LVCANVS, V. 596 :

Inde ruunt toto congesta pericula mundo.
Primus ab oceano caput exseris Atlanteo,
Core, mouens aestus : iam te tollente furebat
Pontus, et in scopulos totas erexerat undas.
Occurrit gelidus Boreas pelagusque retundit,
Et dubium pendet †uento cui concidat† aequor.

Concidat in the last line seems impossible. *Concido* = 'fall down,' 'fall limp,' and is used of wind = 'fall' in Hor. C. I. 12. 30. It might also, no doubt, be used of the sea falling into a calm. But that is exactly what the sea does not do in this passage. The winds struggle for its possession; then

Scythici uicit rabies Aquilonis et undas
Torsit, et abstrusas penitus uada fecit harenas, etc.

Thus we must depart from the MSS., and adopt another reading. Ald. has *pareat*, which gives excellent sense, and is easily explicable on the supposition of a gloss *concedat*, afterwards altered to *concidat* and incorporated in the text. But if this reading be correct, it is strange that not one out of the great host of extant MSS. retains any trace of it. It is therefore safer, perhaps, to read *uentus qui concidat*, 'which wind is to fall' in the struggle. This gives the required meaning, and the corruption is easily accounted for.

VALERIUS FLACCVS, *Arg.* VII. 394 :

Iamque tremens longe sequitur Venus ; utque sub altas
Peruenere trabes diuaeque triformis in umbram,
Hic subito ante oculos nondum speratus Iason
Emicuit, uiditque prior conterrita uirgo.

The incident is the same as is related by Ovid, *Met.* VII. 74 sqq. :

Ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perseidos aras,
Quas nemus umbrosum secretaque silua tegebat.
Et iam fortis erat, pulsusque recesserat ardor,
Cum uidet Aesoniden, exstinctaque flamma reluxit.

Medea has at last summoned up courage to go to the grove in order to meet Jason. He, however, appears unexpectedly before she reaches the *nemus umbrosum*. Venus and Medea are walking hand in hand :

Dat dextram uocemque Venus blandisque pauentem
Adloquiis iunctoque trahit per moenia passu. (373 sq.)

Not till Jason appears does the goddess withdraw her hand from her companion's (*inde Venus dextrae delapsa tenenti*, 399). How, then, can she be said in l. 394 to be 'now following afar off'? Professor Bury, the editor of the *Corpus* text, understands the reference to be to the planet Venus. But surely this is impossible in such a context. The Venus of v. 394 must be the Venus of ll. 373 and 399; any other interpretation seems intolerably harsh and far-fetched, and Professor Bury would doubtless admit that his explanation was merely a refuge of the desperate. But why not read *nemus* for *Venus* in v. 394? With *Venus* mentioned so often in the context the corruption was easy and natural. *Sequitur*=*petit*, a meaning extremely common in poetry. The use of *trabes* and *nemus* in conjunction may have been suggested by Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 360, *densum trabibus nemus*.

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THE LATIN DATIVE: NOMENCLATURE AND CLASSIFICATION.

1. IT must have been shortly after I entered college in my middle 'teens that I first heard of the grammatical doctrine that psychological opposites take the same construction. As a mnemonic, alone, the doctrine is immensely worth while and practically helps with categories like *damnare*)(*absolvere*, *meminisse*)(*obliuisci*, *cedere*)(*resistere*, *similis*)(*alienus* (*dissimilis*)—which rouses a literary interest by recalling Thackeray's use of *different to* as a counter term to *equal to*, *similar to*, *like to*. And, to get back to grammar, for English folk it clarifies *prope ab* to counter it with *procul ab*.¹ By the doctrine of opposites we clarify even so elusive a matter as the 'subjunctive of repudiation' which I once sought to explain by partial obliquity (*Cl. Rev.* XI. 344 sq.), not mistaking therein, I am fain to believe, the valuable stylistic note of echo. In this subjunctive I now see a clear opposite to the concessive. It is a survival, on the cold page, of a speech form that owed its meaning to the speaker's mood (*ἡ ψυχικὴ διάθεσις*), the pitch of his voice, all the things that manifest and betray emotion, and so far forth is 'polemic.' It is often introduced by *ut*, *utne*, *egone ut*, where *ut* is exclamatory and interrogative at once, and the tone converts the concessive to an anticoncessive, indicating repudiation, disavowal.²

2. I propose presently to apply the doctrine of opposites to the classification of the dative in Latin, but first a word of criticism directed toward a nomenclature widely prevalent in America. I refer to the term 'dative of separation,' a name which seems to me ill chosen as regards syntactical theory, and positively pernicious and misleading to the average Latin student. The dative is a person case, and separation³ from a person is a very inexact way of conceiving this relation of the dative. The learner is exposed to so much formal confusion between the dative and ablative that it seems a pity for his modicum of syntax to contribute to this confusion. To give an example, my Horace students, when set to construing *Carm.* II. 3, 17 *cedes coemptis saltibus et domo | uillaque*, have not infrequently told me that *saltibus* was a 'dative of separation.' If they had been taught that the dative was a person

¹ Here note Irish *fri* used with pronoun objects, now with verbs of association, and now with verbs of separation.

² See an interesting series of protesting subjunctives in Seneca, *Herc.*, 526 sqq.

³ It is a pity that (*ablativus*) *separativus* has been forsaken as a technical term for 'ablative of separation.'

case, or merely reflected on the form of *uilla*, they could not have made this mistake, but have I not noted that a really great grammar like Lane's fails to teach that the dative is a person case (see *Cl. Rev.* XIV. 318), and are not most of us aware how little reflection can be expected of students?

3. I have no desire to review American school grammars and point out that almost without exception they classify this ill-named 'dative of separation' as a dative of reference, but I may be permitted to note how this name has intruded itself (v. Gildersleeve-Lodge, school edition, § 345, Rem. 1) even into the grammar which, in its larger form, is my own *uade mecum*, to which I turn first when in syntactical doubt.

4. As regards the classification of this use of the dative let me take the example that I have actually gesticulated to my own pupils for more than a decade, *magister discipulo librum dat adimitque*. From this example I think that even dull students realize that whether the pupil receives or gives up the book he stands in an identical grammatical relation to the act and the actor, that, whether he is the receiver or the loser, he is equally the indirect personal object.¹ So, starting from this example, I develop the syntactical doctrine of opposites which seems to me of such importance that it deserves a general statement and illustration at the beginning of every text-book on syntax.

5. Another specific application I make of the example is to show that the indirect object is prevailingly a person, and that the dative is, by and large, a person case.

6. If we do not teach that the dative is a case of the person we miss the opportunity to realize poetic personification in examples like the following: Horace, *Carm.* III. 8, 11, *corticem . . . demouebit amphorae*, wherein *amphorae* is the 'Little Brown Jug' of the song (cf. the *pia testa* of iii. 21; Page's note on the personification of the *amphora cessans* of III. 28, 8; *Κεκροπὶ ῥαῖνε λάγυννε* of Anth. Pal. V. 134); *eripe te morae* (III. 29, 5), where *morae* is 'Procrastination.' Note also the personification of *speculum* 'mirror,' used as a *dativus iudicantis* (see my note on *Mo.* 251, 645). We must not be led astray by the error inherent in the word personification, thanks to its derivation. Genetically considered, when our ancestors were in the animistic stage and peopled the world with vital stocks and stones, all nouns were proper names, a fact possibly to be reckoned with in the spread of the dative to its use as a case of general goal (§ 18). The personification of the rhetoricians is rather a repersonification. An example like *deus abscidit | terras Oceano dissociabili* (Horace, *Carm.* I. 3, 21) might be of the early type, while the *Amphorae* and *Morae* examples are certainly rhetorical.

7. I share, however, with the inventor of the name 'dative of separation'

¹ The illustration might also be used to show how *mutat* is sometimes 'gives' and sometimes 'gets,' sometimes 'sells' and sometimes 'buys'; and incidentally to show how Eng. *sells* 'delivers' is etymologically to be correlated

with *ἐλεῖν* 'to take.' The root developed as a description of an act of barter, wherein give-and-take is a reciprocal act. Observe how French *rendre* (from Lat. *reddere*) 'to deliver' has picked up an *n* from *prendre* (= Lat. *prendere*) 'to take.'

the feeling that it is convenient to have a specific name for this aspect of the indirect object, and I introduced in my edition of the *Mostellaria* (ad v. 235) the name of 'dative of the loser,'¹ while I term the opposite aspect the 'dative of the receiver.' I hope to show that my name is more suitable to the usage than the name I am here criticizing. The grammars—I still speak of the American school grammars, including works of the great range of Lane and Gildersleeve-Lodge—gives no adequate idea of the reach of this construction. Almost without exception they suppose that the fact of composition in the verb has some controlling influence on the case regimen. Even Lodge, though he knows better, makes concessions to the idea (§ 347, R. 5). This notion should disappear before the following collection of examples, in which I leave a few compound verbs. My collection was not made with the object of collecting, but contains only instances noted in the course of incidental reading. The examples are :

aufferre :—hoc studium *mihi* . . mors abstulit (Catullus 68, 19; cf. 101, 5; 5, 15, and Friedrich's note); *qui tulit* (i.e. *abstulit*, sc. *aethera*, cf. Riese) *Archemoro* squameus anguis erat (Anth. Lat. I,² p. 107); <uannus> crassasque aufert *paleae* tunicas cortices (Varro, *Menip.* 578^b: *paleae* can hardly be genitive, though as dative we must recognize a hypallage and an approach to personification). **capere** :—ut *is* in cauea pignus capiantur togae (Plautus, *Am.* 68). **clepere** :—*cui* <quid> cleptum erit (Livy XXII. 10, 5, in an old formula).² **dirimere** :—hodie *tibi* dirimam uitam (*Test. Porc.*). **leuare** :—*uirgini* pauperculae . . me leuare paupertatem! (Plautus, *Ep.* 535); leuandum morbum *mulieri* uideo (ib. *Mi.* 1272); *his* leuabat omnem uolnerum metum nobilitas mortis et gloria (Cicero, *Tusc.* II. 59); *uiro* . . manicas . . leuari iubet (Virgil, *Aen.* II. 145). **rapere** : quom *Incuboni* pilleum rapuisset (Petronius 38, 8); *mercenario* Eumolpi nouaculum rapit (ib. 94, 12); fascisque pudet rapuisse *Catoni* (ib. 109, 46); rapuit deinde *tacenti* speculum (ib. 128, 4); et regem *nobis* pugna defendite raptum (*Aen.* XI. 156); montisque cruento | *uictori* rapuere suas (Lucan II. 156); sceptrum gener *socero* rapta Superbus habet (Ovid, *Fast.* VI. 600); ne *sibi* Gallorum raperetur pompa triumphi (Anth. Lat. I, No. 847). **tollere** :—ad tollendum *reipublicae* consulare imperium (Livy III. 9, 8); tollet nulla dies hanc *tibi* Roma notam (Propertius III. 11, 36); *cui* (sc. Narcisso) si tollis aquas, non est ubi saeuat ignis (Anth. Lat. I³, No. 219).

8. These examples are sufficient to dispel the idea that this Latin usage has any dependence whatever upon the composition of the verbs. True, we are more familiar with *adimere*, *detrahere*, *eripere*³ than with the simple verbs given above, but the examples with *capere*, *clepere*, *leuare*, *rapere* (in the sermo vulgaris of Petronius) are at least as cogent. Suppose that in formal language the compound verbs are more frequent, it is a matter of stylistic adaptation or of idiom. It may be a question of the original meaning of the verbs of taking

¹ Two years earlier Arnold in his *Forum Latinum* (1900) used the term 'Dative of the Person losing,' for which he substituted in his *Basis Latina* (1908) 'Person Deprived.' I am glad to know that, quite as early as myself, if not earlier, he had reached the same point of view.

² Cf. *anulos* . . . *amicae* tuae inuolasti, Petronius, 58, 10.

³ The wide range of these verbs may be indicated by noting *absterrere alicui* (Lucretius IV. 1064, 1233), *abstinere alicui* (Livy I. 1, 1); cf. Lucretius II. 1003, *coetum dissipat ollis* 'scatters coherence from them'; IV. 378, *nigrasque sibi abluit umbras*.

away, many of which owe this sense to composition. We say in English 'to wrest a sword from some one,' but not 'to seize it from him.' We can say 'to take a sword from one,' but we probably more often say 'to take it away from him.' Delicate points of signification and rhythm lurk here, often beyond the plummet of any grammatical analysis. If we may judge from Petronius's usage (*rapere*), the dative with the simple verb may have characterized vulgar, or perhaps better, informal speech.

9. The analysis of the verb *adimere*, which I have never known anyone to make before, ought to take from any of us the notion that the dative of the loser therewith depends in some mystical way on the *ad-*, for the truth is that *ad-* is absolutely without relation to the indirect object, the person concerned, but is directed entirely upon the subject.¹ This makes of *adimit* a virtual middle or reflexive, a somewhat more vigorous *δέχεται*, as it were. It is instructive to note that the *alicui aliquid* construction is found with *δέχεται* also, e.g. in Homeric Θέμιστι δὲ καλλιπαρήφῃ | δέκτο δέπας 'from Themis, the fair-cheeked, she took the cup' [Butcher and Lang also render by 'took'].

10. The dative of the loser seems to me so important a factor in the classification of the dative case that the first example to be cited by every grammar for the usage as indirect object ought inevitably to be of the type of Plautus, *Cap.* 1027—*ut istas compedis | tibi adimam, huic dem*, cf. also *qui tibi me dederat, idem et ademit: Amor* (Anth. Lat. I², No. 451, 6). This example warrants the immediate subdivision of the indirect object into a receiver and a loser, and prompts the teacher to explain the doctrine of the grammatical identity of opposites.

11. It is the shortest of steps to advance from the receiver to the person benefited, and from the loser to the person injured, not losing sight, the while, of the relativity of loss and gain. On the way to the *datiuus commodi et incommodi* numerous examples will gain in clearness—at least they have for me in my constant effort to illustrate syntax by translation—if conceived as instances of the dative of the loser; e.g.:

tibi . . . linguam abscidam (*Am.* 556), *paedagogo tabulā disrumpit caput* (*Bacch.* 440), *misellae | ignes . . . edunt medullam* (*Cat.* 35, 14), *illi . . . dentes exciderunt* (*Mo.* 541), *quo i perii pudor*² (*Bacch.* 488) *perierunt credita menti* (*Cat.* 76, 9, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ), *salinum seruo opsignant cum sale* (*Persa.* 267), *ne tibi ieiuno lumina tentet amor* (Anth. Lat. I², No. 154, 4).

to wind up the list with a very general dative of disadvantage, which may rather designate the receiver. The stock example, *quoties iam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus*, adds to the dative of loser *de manibus*, just as, in the example to be used presently, *mihi in mentem uenit, in mentem* is a second goal of motion after *mihi*. I will further add the confession that the name 'dative of loser' helps me to realize more clearly and concretely the rôle of the dative in such

¹ Here note the contrast between *sustinet* and our *upholds*: *su(b)s-* belongs more particularly to the subject, and *up-* to the object.

² This example aids me to comprehend

Lucretius III, 129, *uentus uitalis . . . nobis moribundos deserit artus*, as a sort of loose construction which may be rendered 'the breath of life, fails us—our dying members.'

examples as *cruor alicui fuit* (cf. *quae [uerba] tuto tibi magna uolant*, *Aen.* XI. 381).

12. I have assumed in the two last paragraphs that the dative started as an indirect object, and if this is not the only possible starting-point I believe it to be the correct one. By a happy accident the Latin name is *datiuus*, the case of the *donatus*, of the 'givee,' to use a term of legal cant, uncouth, but definite, explicit, unmistakable. We need not discount *datiuus* as being a mere translation of the Greek name, ἡ δοτική, for Pāṇini also, over in India, has caught the same point in his *saṁ-~~pra~~-dānam*.

13. The name *datiuus* seems to me in absolute and inevitable accord with the facts gained from the parallel study of the syntax of the dative in the several members of the Indo-European group; see Delbrück in the *Grundriss* and Brugmann in his synopsis thereof (*Kvg.*). They set down as their first category the dative with verbs of giving. Nor, in my opinion, is the best and truest inference from the facts of usage any abstraction like Gaedicke's (ap. Delbrück, *Gr.* III.¹ § 68): <Es> trat in dem Dativ derjenige Substantivbegriff, dem der Verbalbegriff *galt* oder nachdem er sich *hinneigte*.

14. Comparative syntax rarely leads us further than to statements of this nature; such and such a usage (of the dative, say) was certainly (better, with a high degree of probability) proethnic. As for the glottogonic localistic dative theory of which Delbrück avows his repentance, it never involved a further leap into the dark than the explanation, accepted by him, from the point of view of *die geistige Auffassung*. In either mode of explanation we project lines back through the dark, past the reach of the light of usage, to converge on a focus we thereafter regard as the point of origin and dub a *Grundbegriff*; and, after getting our point named, forget that the *Grundbegriff* is an *a posteriori* of our own devising, and unconsciously interpret it thenceforth as a source, an *a priori* belonging to the nature of things. I try not to be frightened by names, and I have never said charms nor whistled up my courage against the glottogonic goblin lest I be counted out of the number of the servants of the linguistics. I can at this moment call to mind no glottogonic explanation to which I attach final and absolute value, but I can conceive of such explanations coming into general acceptance. But certainly there is no evidence to prove that an actual portion of the dative suffix was ever isolated and had actual local meaning¹: which need not, in a free world, dissuade supporters of the localistic theory from projecting facts of usage back to a starting-point in a 'direction of motion,' from interpreting the dative as a 'towards' case. This they will continue to do, in spite of the force of Delbrück's counter-argument that one does not, from this starting-point, account so well for the dative as a person case. To me Delbrück's reason

¹ The optional omission of the locative ending *i-* gives it much the look of being a separate (therefore separable) deictic particle. In the diphthong of the personal dative ending we may

be reckoning with an element originally emotional. [The diphthongizing effect of emotion on vowels in Sicily (see Schneegans ap. Wechssler, *Lautges.*, p. 181 fn. 2) is no assumption.]

is convincing, while Deecke's¹ localistic theory (in his *Latein. Grammatik*) fails to account adequately for the usage of the indirect object.

15. Notwithstanding his recognition that the dative is, in all probability, a person case, Delbrück seems not to have made the most of that fact. True, it is for this reason, and because the terminal dative, save where the terminus is a person, is not Vedic, that he forsakes the localistic explanation; but he nowhere asks himself with what personal relation the dative started. Perhaps because the answer to this question is, at the best, but a guess. But the guess may be true; and whether genetically true or false, true for the teacher and true for the student if it greatly advantages the classification of the facts of usage. I do not aspire to the abstraction of a *Grundbegriff*, but I think I may be in the range of fact, when I somewhat arbitrarily conclude that the dative, in its primary function, designated the 'givee' (the recipient, receiver), shortly extended to the opposite aspect as the designation of the 'takee' (the loser). This amounts to little more than saying that the dative is the (person) case with '*dare*.'

16. As Delbrück's position and the comparative treatment of syntactical problems is before us, let me state in passing my impression that, as regards the case relations, at least, we are brought, by long parallel statements of the usage of the cognate languages, not appreciably nearer to the ultimate origin of case constructions. As for the dative, the Latin usage is substantially identical with the usages of the cognate tongues, and so fully representative that, broadly speaking, the Latin dative presents a true picture of the proto-ethnic dative at the time of the upbreking of the primitive stock. Accordingly, if, in making a classification of the Latin dative, we hit upon a starting-point adequate to the explanation of Latin usage, that starting-point may well prove adequate to the explanation of the dative in general.

17. I would now seek to advance my classification from the dative of the givee to the dative of the (personal) goal. The examples I would choose to illustrate this shift would be of the phrase 'to send a present to some one,' as, for instance, in Plautus, *Mil.* 710, 713,

eos pro liberis habebo qui mihi mittunt munera :
ille miserrumum se retur minimum qui misit mihi,²

though *ad me mittere* is the commoner turn in Plautus. If it were *ad me* that we were analyzing we should not fail to note how *ad me* has come to be the equivalent of *meam domum*, and it is hardly more than accident that *mihi* did not also reach this localistic interpretation, out-right, of the (non-personal) goal of motion. Just as *mihi* is the (personal) goal of motion with *mittere*, so I interpret it in the phrase *mihi in mentem uenit*, where *mihi* and *in mentem* are both goals of motion. Similarly in *ad te Romam ueniam* we have two goals of motion. Nor is there any reason not to apply the

¹ I mention Deecke, *honoris causa*, as the representative of scholars before and since who champion the localistic theory.

² Note also on Pompeian amphorae the dative of the consignee (Man-Kelsey's *Pompeii*², p. 507).

same explanation to *illi in oculos inuolare* (Terence). It were well besides to mention here that *mittere* may also mean 'to fling, hurl, throw,' and in *alicui hastam mittere*, *alicui* is still the receiver, as well as the personal goal of motion: cf. *uulnera ferte uiris* (Tib. I. 1. 76).

18. Out of the dative as a personal goal of motion developed the use of the dative as a general terminal case (locatival), whence its gradual assimilation to the locative (as in the infinitive, see § 22). Here I think of sacrifice, libation, song, directed to the Sky and Earth, to Fire, and to the hearth. I think of the Vedic libation to Agni, poured into the fire, of the wine poured upon the hearth in honor of *Ἑστία* (cf. hym. Hom. 29. 6), or upon the earth (cf. *Il.* 7, 480, *οἶνον . . χαμάδις χέον . . Κρονίωνι*, where *Γαίῃ* might replace *Κρονίωνι*). Latin examples are:

debita reddet . . focis (Tib. IV. 2, 24), *reddite corpus humo* (Prop. III. 3, 7, 25), *cineri quae dedat odores* (Tib. I. 1, 76), *cineri | munera mitte meo* (Anth. Lat. I², No. 409, 2); cf. *proelia seuit humo* (Prop. III. 11, 10) and *tuis humiles aduoluimur aris* (III. 17, 1),

wherein, as in *iam satis terris inuis . . misit*, the dative is an almost colourless terminal.

19. We may also get good results by starting with *mittere*, etc., construed with the dative of a person-place, but here *mittere* is only *dare* writ large:

multos Danaum demittimus Orco (Aen. II. 398), *mittis leto* (Accius: better were *te Morti misero*, Cap. 691; cf. Hor. S. II. 3, 197, *mille ouium insanus Morti dedit*, older in type than *Amph.* 809 *haec me . . ad Mortem dedit*), *quem . . demisere neci*¹

(Aen. II. 85), *Romanis de muro² manus tendebant* (Caesar)—but almost pure goal in *in it caelo clamor* (Virgil).

20. The following—shall I call it synecdochic—group of examples (parts of the body) is also instructive:

brachia . . . cervici . . . dabat (Hor. C. III., 9, 2), *seu dederat sanctae spīcea sēta comae* (Tib. I. 10, 22), *perfusa unguenta capillis* (Prop. II. 4, 5), *foribus miser oscula figit* (Lucr. IV. 1179).

21. For the approximation of the terminal dative (or to-locative) to the on-locative a single pair of contrasting examples will suffice, viz: *sua iecit humi arma* (Ovid), confronted with *nudus humi iacet* (Lucretius). I, for one, do not doubt that *humi*=*χαμ-αί* was originally a dative (to-locative), but that it became in Latin an on-locative. So in English 'falls on the ground' sometimes replaces 'falls to the ground.' Cf. *mihi in mentem est* (Bacch. 161) which shows the influence of *in mentem uenit* on *in mente (animo) est* (Petronius).

22. Against the postulated development from the givēe to the personal and thence the general goal (locatival, or to-locative), which further tended to the on-locative, the localizers might plead that the divine person-places—let

¹ Structurally *neci* might be an infinitive, [see AJP. 31, p. 408, § 17, a], and the example is valid for § 23, below.

² With relations reversed, *Romanis ad muros*

manus tendebant is normal Latin, but I take it that *ad muros* is an ethnic replacement (see § 28) of a proethnic type of goal dative still preserved in *muris adequitare* (§§ 27, 29).

us take Zeus: *Diuus* (*sub diuo*) for a type—were places before they were persons. Here grammatical arguments will not lie, but a strong point is made when it is urged that the infinitive is a dative or, as I prefer to call it, a locative, and expresses the goal of motion (§ 27). In the analysis of the forms we must not underrate the fact that Greek has dative infinitives in *-μεναι* beside the locatives in *-μεν*, while in Latin the dative (in *-i*) is allocated to the passive, and the locative (in *-si* > *-re*) to the active. The sparse representation of the locative in Sanskrit has over-persuaded Delbrück, who unduly minimizes the rôle of the locative in the proethnic type (IV. § 148), and declares that the locative has been towed in the wake of the dative—to which we may just as well add, ‘or conversely.’ The convergence of the locative toward the locative (§ 21) would certainly have provoked the converse charge. So in Sanskrit the *on* or *in* locative has become a *to* locative, cf. the phenomena attested in Greek *ἐν*(*εἰς*, Lat. *in* c. abl.)(c. accus. In modern English *there* and *where* (locatives) have been ousting *thither* and *whither* (terminals). For one of the Latin dative idioms called ‘of purpose,’ *mihi cordi* est, English turns like ‘is *on* my heart,’ ‘has *at* heart’ suggest a locative as the original conception (replaced subsequently by a locative=dative), while ‘lays *to* heart,’ ‘takes *to* heart’ attest the possibility of a dative original. In truth, so wide is the border of debatable territory between the *to* and *on* locatives that one might despair of establishing any line of demarcation.

23. But we can clearly pass from the givee to the terminal and purpose infinitive as is shown in the following example, *hominem... pistori dabo* (*Epid.* 121). Here *pistori* does not appreciably differ from *in pistrinum* in the following passage, *te in pistrinum scis actutum tradier* (*Most.* 17), and *pinsere* would yield much the same sense (cf. colloquial *da biber*¹). The example of *pistori* (dat.) throws light on the origin of the Vedic infinitives *dhartári* ‘sustinare,’ *vidhartári* ‘donare,’ locatives of the agent stem in *-tar-* (= Lat. *-tör-*). We may make this analysis more real, perhaps, by extending our illustration to verbs of motion, and, as the Latin infinitive has become a mere formula, I will take Vedic examples from Whitney’s list (*Gram.* § 982); *tān ūpa yāta pībadhyai*—*eos* (sc. *quasi haustus*) *ad uenite bibere*. Here we may realize that *pībadhyai* is a non-personal goal of motion by bethinking ourselves of turns like ‘he went to a candy-pulling,²—a corn-husking,—a log-rolling,—a speaking,—the hunt.’ In all these cases (assuming for the fourth instance an habitual speaker) it is an almost inevitable inference that the subject, the goer, went to do a part in the activity designated; but his purpose is merely an inference from the context, not a part of the inherent content of the ‘to.’ So, if we had in Latin *mihi praesidio uenit*, as we do have *mihi auxilio uenit*, we

¹ Also cf. the Homeric infinitive of purpose with *διδωμι*. Vedic examples show *dā-* ‘facere,’ rather than *dā-* ‘dare.’ Proethnic usage with the root of *dare* is beyond question. Note how the examples of §§ 18-20 reveal the development of the goal-dative from the dative with *dare*.

² This type of noun is as old as the Rīg Veda, cf. I. 14, 1, *ā... sōma pītaye yāhi* ‘unto (the) soma-drinking come’; V. 35, 6, *tvām... hāvante vājasātaye* ‘te uocant praedicationi,’ and may be there regarded as infinitival (cf. Arnold, KZ. 37, 431).

might interpret *mihi* as the personal goal of motion, and *praesidio*, if meaning 'garrison', as conceivably a second personal goal, but if meaning 'stronghold' as a local goal. On the infinitive of purpose with *dare* see § 23, fn. In Latin the dative of purpose became a highly productive construction. In turns like *auxilio venire*, *odio esse*, *vitio vertere* we may still realize its development from action nouns, dative infinitives which have become general to-locatives, while in *mihi cordi esse* there was a somewhat different development (see § 22). In a detailed examination of the turns preserved to us in literature many a special explanation would suggest itself. Thus when Cicero says *philosophiae*, *Quinte*, *semper uaco*, *uaco* is shorthand for *tempus dare paratus sum*. In the highly elliptical situation that gave rise to the proverbial *non omnibus dormio* the situation prompts the interpretation *non omnibus accessum dormiendo do*.

24. The following example, *kaṁṇr icchāmi saṁdṛṣe* 'poetas cupio conspici', also lends itself to an interesting interpretation. In view of the Slavic use of the dative with verbs of wishing (cf. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, § 131, end) and the Latin use of *cupere* and *nolle* mentioned above, we might interpret the Vedic group as a condensation of *poetas cupio* and *cupio spectaculo*. Here the purpose infinitive becomes the complementary.

25. In the explanation of the dative with intransitives not enough has been made of the evidence of comparative etymology. I here refer particularly to the usage of *credit*, a verb whose etymology is entirely transparent in Sanskrit, where we find an instance like the following (which may be conveniently turned up in Walde, *Wört.*, s.v. *credo*), *ṛád a sma í dhatta* (= *cor* [*?fidem*] *illi facite*; for the verb cf. Plautine *nomen alicui facere*), wherein the dative is transparently the dative of the receiver. Similar usages occur in Latin, where *opem alicui tulerunt* entirely explains the case-relation in *alicui opitulati sunt*. So Ennius's *tibi gratulor* (further instances in Harpers' Dictionary, s.v. *gratulor* II) is sufficiently explained by the locution *gratias alicui referre*; and *alicui auxiliari*, *subsidiari* are made clear by *fer mi auxilium* and *alicui insidias dare*, *ponere*, *tendere*, etc.¹

26. Let these illustrations suffice to show that the dative with intransitives had, in all probability, its origin in a simple dative of the receiver. For verbs of obeying (yielding) and its opposite, resisting, the analysis of *auscultare* yields interesting results, for *auscultare alicui* means 'to lean (bow > lend) ear to one,' and the dative is as simple as with *dare* or *mittere*.

27. With other intransitives as, for example, *appropinquare* and its

¹ In such collocations we often render the dative by 'for,' and it cannot be questioned that the subdivision of the dative into a 'to' and a 'for' case is convenient for English speakers, but it is far from certain that the subdivision is justified: thus in *mihi mittit munera* we have to hesitate between 'to' and 'for' in our interpretation, but we do not know that in the dative

the Romans differentiated between 'to' and 'for,' at least before the time of grammatical sophistication. The same remark may be made regarding *ad* 'to' and 'for.' In an example like *cape tibi hanc [pallam]*, *Men.* 202, *tibi* is plainly an indirect object from the giver's point of view, while from the taker's point of view *cape tibi* is a 'middle' ('*mihi accipiam*').

opposite, *cedere* (= *uitare*), I interpret the dative as originally one of the (personal) goal of motion. Similar is *adequitare muris* (see § 19, fn., and § 29). Gothic has gone even further and from the dative of 'approximation' developed one of 'contact,' which it uses with the verb *tēkan* 'tangere'; cf. in Latin the dative with *haerere*, *iungere*, *miscere*. We say to pluck *at* and, colloquially, to finger *at*.

28. The rule for the dative with compound verbs has long seemed to me a regular lazy-bed for grammarians; for pupils a very opiate and narcotic to reflection. I feel perfectly safe—even when a scholar like Lejay explains away the locative usage of *terrae* by an appeal to composition (see *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 12, 85 sqq.)—in making the statement that, in the last analysis, no verbal idea represented by any member of this group would, if exhibited out of composition, fail to allow the dative. This is not to assert that the dative is equally germane to all of the fifty verbs, say, that might be adduced for this group. Nor is my conception of syntactical development of that nature. I rather think that if we grant that some half-dozen of this group were innately apt for the dative construction, its further extension was due to the semantic enlargement of the six till they encroached on the meanings of the other dozens and infected them with their syntax. It is thus that Vergil (cf. also CIL. 10, 7457) at last gives to *superare* the construction, as well as the meaning, of *superstitem esse*. And we may trust, I doubt not, to the historical insight of Quintilian, who seems to hint (IX. 3, 1) that the dative with this group was a productive and growing construction. On the other hand, as compound verbs are often more archaic in signification than their simples, witness *adimit*(*emit* and *amputat*)(*putat* (v. AJP. 26, 188), the dative of goal with compounds may be an older construction than the preposition phrases with simple verbs: no preposition phrase of the goal can be proethnic.

29. At any rate, we might submit the group to a little formal classification, say according to the meaning of the simplex. Thus, taking the long and useful alphabetical list Lodge has compiled for the Gildersleeve-Lodge Grammar (§ 347 R. 2), seventeen are verbs of motion and the dative will have started as the (personal) goal of motion; ten are verbs of (physical) inclination (e.g. *accumbere*, *annuere*), contact (*inhaerere*, cf. *miscere* etc. above), touch (*obtingere*); fourteen are compounds of *esse* (*nasci*), *stare*, *sedere*, *sistere*, most of which have become in effect verbs of motion (*aduenit*: *adest*: : *mihi in mentem uenit*: *mihi in mentem est*¹), approach, contact; the three verbs *arridere*, *illudere*, *obstreperere* may all be regarded as extensions, step by step, of *ridere*, but *alicui illudere* may well be explained by *alicui ludos facere* (in *Most.* 427; see my note); as for *assentiri*, *consentire*, *congruere*, the construction may have been imitated from *ait* 'assents' as in *Ru.* 427, *uel tu mi aias* (= say yes, grant) *uel neges*; of the remaining verbs, *inhiare* 'to gape at' may be compared with *cupere* (cf. *cui qui nolunt*, Cic. *Fam.* I. 1, 3), and *inseruire* with *seruire*, while *succrescit* is a variation for *succedit*, and *accedere* is *addi*.

¹ Cf. I have *been to* town in English.

30. That the dative of possessor is an outgrowth from the dative of receiver seems to me clear: *nobis poma sunt data* readily yields *nobis poma sunt*. Cf. also *quo i periit pudor* of the loser (§ 11). As a teacher, I have found students possessed of an almost invincible reluctance against rendering *est mihi* by 'I have,' a trick of translation so necessary for clearness that I often apply it to examples like the following: *nulla porticus priuatis excipiebat Arcton* (Horace, C. II. 15, 13) 'individuals had no [spacious] porches facing the Bear;' *cui paternum splendet in mensa salinum* (ib. II. 16, 12) 'who has on his board the polished salt-dish of his father;' *destrictus ensis cui super impia ceruice pendet* (ib. III. 1, 17) 'who has a drawn sword hanging down o'er his traitrous¹ neck'; *consentire animum nobis in corpore cernis* 'we have in our body a consciously-acting mind, as you see' (Lucr. III. 169).

31. It is more difficult to account for the passage of the dative of the givee to the function named 'dativus iudicantis.' To explain this function I begin with *uidetur* and not with *est*. Semantically analyzed, *uidetur* seems to me the intransitive to *monstrat*, and *δοκεῖ* the intransitive of *δείκνυσι*. But *δοκεῖ* lends itself to at least a partial etymological analysis: it looks like an intransitive to the Latin causative-transitive *docet*, and may be, etymologically, an intransitive to *δείκνυσι*—if we start from a base $\text{DĒ}(\gamma)\hat{\text{K}}$ -, which is one way of expressing the cognation in diagrammatic form (cf. on this group Pedersen in KZ. 38, p. 410). With *δείκνυσι* and the verbs of 'showing' in general the dative stands, to my mind, in as simple a functional relation as the dative with the verbs of giving. This dative arose to indicate the 'showee,' the receiver of something non-material.

32. In tabular form my classification of the dative results as follows:

DATIVVS §§ 12-13.

§§ 4, 5, 12 'givee' (receiver)	('takee' (loser) §§ 4, 5, 7-10.
moralized as 'person benefited')	('person injured' § 11
<i>dativus commodi</i>)	(<i>incommodi</i>
§§ 25-26, with intransitives	
generalized as <i>dativus possessivus</i>	§ 30
<i>dativus iudicantis</i>	§ 31
localized as § 17 personal goal	} § 22 infinitive of goal
§ 18 terminal	
§ 21 locatival	
	§ 23 " " purpose
	§ 24 " " complement.
§§ 27-29, with compounds.	

33. The *dativus ethicus* (pronominal) and the (Latin) dative with interjections, though admitting of derivation from the *dativus commodi*, perhaps go back to the infancy of speech, when all our language was a cry.²

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¹ The adjective *impia* seems to have been chosen to convey the tyrant's reluctance to behold another in his seat even when put there in derision by himself.

² See note 1 on p. 189.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 32. No. 1. 1911.

Vahlen's Ennius, Charles Knapp. *The Indo-European Palatals in Sanskrit*, Leonard Bloomfield. *The Introduction of Masks on the Roman Stage*, Catharine Saunders. *K and Π forms in the Early Ionic Poets*, T. Hudson Williams. Reviews. Bywater's *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Mitchell Carroll. Petersen's *Greek Diminutives in -iov* and Bender's *Suffixes -mant and -vant in Sanskrit and Avestan*, Franklin Egerton. Obituary Notice of S. H. Butcher, the Editor.

Atene e Roma. Nos. 143-144. Nov.-Dec., 1910.

Vita romana antica, A. M. Pizzagalli. *Note di letteratura omerica I.*, N. Terzaghi. *Il mantello celeste*, R. Pettazzoric. *Appunte di critica antica*, U. Galli. *L'elegia di Ovidio in morte di Tibullo*, C. Morelli.

Nos. 145-6. Jan.-Feb., 1911.

La Commedia greca nuova, N. Terzaghi. *Notizia di Studi relativi alla vita de Fidia*, P. Ducati. *Nota di metrica barbara carducciana*, A. Gaudiglio. *A proposito delle versioni paleoslave di testi greci*, G. Ciardi-Dupré. *Il Re Pausania nei Politici di Aristotele*, V. Costanzi. *Dai Ditirambi*, di F. Nietzsche. Notices: *Greek Papyri Brit. Mus.*, Vol. IV.; *Anthologie populaire de la Grèce moderne* (Pernot); *Nuova rappresentanza vascolare del mito di Oreste*, Vittorio Macchioro.

No. 147. Mar., 1911.

Di alcuni scritti recenti sulla questione Ippocratica, Tocco. A review of the works of Littré, Diels, Gomperz, etc. *Le serenate presso i Romani*, Fabbri. An interesting contribution. Camille Sourdillé: (1) *La durée et l'étendue du voyage d'Herodote en Égypte*; (2) *Herodote et la Religion d'Égypte* (E. Pistelli).

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.

(The works mentioned in this summary are favourably reviewed.)

1911. 7 Jan. *Aristotelis Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων*, post Fridericum Blass ed. Th. Thalheim (Hude). L. Hindenlang, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Theophrasts botanischen Schriften* (Crönert). *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, with apparatus criticus and German commentary, ed. H. Hitzig and H. Bluemner. Vol. III. in two parts, completing the work. Highly praised, especially for the topographical and archaeological notes (Schenkl). C. Saunders, *Costume in Roman Comedy* (Wessner). 'Useful.'

14 Jan. W. A. Baehrens, *Panegyricorum Latinorum editionis nouae praefatio maior* (Klotz). P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (L. Ziehen). 'Indispensable'.

H. Knackfuss, *Das Rathaus zu Milet* (Borrmann). *Menandrea*, ed. Alfr. Koerte (Teubner). 'The most complete text of M.; over 1,900 lines.' *Four Plays of Menander*, ed. with notes, etc., by Edward Capps (Ginn) (Hense). 'Useful.'

21 Jan. R. Wünsch, *Die Zauberinnen des Theokrit* (Rannow). B. Weiss, *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*. E. Wendling, *Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums* (Preuschen). R. Friebe, *De Dictyis codice Aesino* (Meister). Note.—This and the two following numbers include a list: *Deutsche Dissertationen und akademische Programme*: 1908-9.

28 Jan. E. Diehl, *Pompejanische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes* (Hosius). A volume of the 'Kleine Texte' edited by Lietzmann. 'Wer die 60 Seiten durchgelesen hat, hat mehr natürliche Menschlichkeit erfahren, als in allen Reden Ciceros steckt.' P. Varese, *Cronologia Romana*. I. (Lenschau). R. Wirtz, *Beiträge zur Catilinarischen Verschwörung* (Bardt). H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie* (Schuchhardt). *Scriptor latinus* (Gustafsson). A monthly magazine in Latin; highly praised.

4 Feb. *Platons Symposion*, erkl. von A. Hug. 3. A. bes. von H. Schöne (Raeder). A. Klotz, *Cäsarstudien* (Meusel). L. Jalabert, *Épigraphie* (Hiller v. Gaertringen). *Miniatures de l'octaëtre grec de Smyrne*. Édition phototypique. Préface de D.-C. Hesselting (Gerland).

11 Feb. *Altchristliche Texte* bearb. von C. Schmidt und W. Schubart (Lietzmann). *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Cratylum commentaria*. Ed. G. Pasquali (Diehl). M. Heinemann, *Epistulae amatoriae quomodo cohaereant cum elegiis Alexandrinis* (Jacoby). H. N. Fowler and J. R. Wheeler, *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* (Blümner). Highly praised.

18 Feb. C. Ritter, *Platon*. I. (Pavlu). Very high praise. M. Sjögren, *Commentationes Tullianae* (Klotz). Fr. Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama* (Schroeder).

25 Feb. E. C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera*. IV. (Thalheim). R. Schneider, *Anonymi de rebus bellicis liber* (B. A. Müller). Discusses at length the date of this work; Schn. would assign to Middle Ages, reviewer to fourth century. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*. I. 2, 2nd edn. (Lenschau). Στ. Α. Ξανθοῦδίδης, 'Ἐπίτομος ἱστορία τῆς Κρήτης (Weil).

4 March. Eduard Schwartz, *Charakterköpfe aus der antiken Literatur*. Series I (third edition); Series II including Diogenes and Krates, Epicurus, Theocritus, Eratosthenes, St. Paul (Peter). K. J. Neumann, *Entwicklung und Aufgaben der alten Geschichte* (Bauer).

11 March. K. Wunderer, *Polybios-Forschungen*. III (Blümner). Gleichnisse und Metaphern bei Polybios, nach ihrer sprachlichen, sachlichen und kulturhistorischen Bedeutung bearbeitet. K. Busche, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung Ciceronischer Schriften* (Ammon). On *Verr.* IV, V and *Caecina*. A. Köster, *Das Pelargikon* (Pfuhl). A long account, with some criticism of K.'s 'durch und durch selbstständige Beobachtungen und Gedanken.' O. Brinkmann, *De copulae est aphaeresi* (Maurenbrecher).

18 March. *Euripidis cantica fragmento Grenfelliano adiecto digessit Otto Schroeder* (Maas). A long detailed criticism. 'Grundsätzlich bin ich mit dem meisten einverstanden, wenigstens insofern, als ich nichts Besseres vorzutragen weiss.' S. Eusebii Hieronymi Opera. I 1: Epistularum, p. 1. Rec. I. Hilberg (Tolkiehn). H. von Arnim, *Die europäische Philosophie des Altertums* (= griechische Philosophie). Kultur der Gegenwart, T. I, Abt. V. S. 115-287 (Schmekel). J. H. Schmalz contributes a paper on the use of the fut: ptcple. act. in early and in classical Latin. There is no example of the attributive use in early Latin; in classical Latin only of *futurus* (and once of *uenturus*). Of the predicative use with other verbs than

sum (expressed or understood) the only example in early Latin is *prodeunt dissuasuri* in C. Gracchus (Gellius XI 10, 4). Here *prodire* is used in a special 'forensic' sense, and is almost equivalent to *esse*. The same is true of *adesse* in Cicero's *adest laturus* (*Verr.* I 56). In *Att.* VIII 9 *quid agenti? quid acturo?* Cicero is imitating the Greek construction. The participle is used more freely by Sallust and Asinius Pollio (who has the first example of the abl. abs.), in the bell. Afr. and the letters of Brutus, and so the way is prepared for Livy. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*. I (Sauer). 'A useful reference book.' A. Frickenhaus, *Griechische Vasen aus Emporion* (Brueckner).

25 March. *Herakleitos von Ephesos, griechisch u. deutsch von H. Diels*. 2 A. (Lortzing). Ph. E. Legrand, *Daos. Tableau de la comédie grecque pendant la période dite nouvelle* (Süss). High praise.

1 Apr. M. Pohlenz, *Vom Zorn Gottes*. Eine Studie über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf das alte Christentum (Capelle). A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten*. II (Gerland). G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* (Rostowzew), 'im ganzen scharfsinnig förderlich und nützlich.'

8 Apr. C. Brück, *De Ovidio scholasticarum declamationum imitatore* (Atzert). W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. Sechste Auflage neu bearbeitet von W. Kroll u. F. Skutsch. Volume II from 31 B.C. to 96 A.D. (Hosius). 'Überall zeigt sich die bessernde Hand.' 'Die Philologen können sich freuen, neben dem grossen, alles ausführlich darstellenden Schanz auch dieses nicht versagende Kursbuch zu besitzen.'

15 Apr. C. Rothe, *Die Ilias als Dichtung* (Hennings). Very high praise. G. Herbig, *Tituli Faleriorum ueterum, linguis Falisca et Etrusca conscripti* (Jacobsohn). R. Klussmann, *Bibliotheca scriptorum classicorum*. I, 2 (Fuhr). C. Reinhardt, *De Graecorum theologia capita duo* (Gruppe). Ch. J. Ogden, *De infinitiui finalis uel consecutiui constructione apud priscos poetas Graecos* (Eberhard). E. A. Sonnenschein, *The Unity of the Latin Subjunctive: A Quest* (Lattmann). Praises highly, but disagrees with the main contention; full discussion.

29 Apr. E. Arndt, *Das Verhältnis der Verstandeserkenntnis zur sinnlichen in der vorsokratischen Philosophie* (Lortzing). Fr. Merbach, *De Epicuri Canonica* (Brieger). H. Ahlquist, *Studien zur spätlateinischen Mulomedicina Chironis* (Schmalz). The review gives valuable information (supplementing Schmalz' Syntax⁴) on the popular language of the fourth and fifth centuries. R. Beer, *Monumenta palaeographica Vindobonensia*. Lief. 1 (Weinberger). A. Deissmann, *Die Urgeschichte des Christentums im Lichte der Sprachforschung* (Eb. Nestle). A. Kannengiesser, *Ist das Etruskische eine hettitische Sprache?* I. Über das *νθ*-Suffix im Etruskischen und im Griechischen (K. Fr. W. Schmidt).

6 May. J. E. Harry, *Studies in Euripides. Hippolytus* (Mekler). Much praised. 'A valuable supplement to the commentary of Wilamowitz.' C. Ritter, *Neue Untersuchungen über Platon* (Pavlu). An appreciative sketch of the contents. O. Crusius, *Paroemiographica, Textgeschichtliches* (Cohn). *Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, hrsg. von E. Kornemann und P. M. Meyer. I, 1. 2 (Viereck). *T. Livi ab u. c. libri*. W. Weissenborns erklärende Ausgabe, neu bearb. von H. J. Müller. IX, 1. 2. 3. A. *T. Livi ab. u. c. libri*. Ed. alt. quam curavit G. Heraeus. V. 1 (Zingerle). The new edition of the commentary (Bks. 39-42), especially the historical notes, praised. Heraeus takes up the work of the late Moritz Müller with Bks. 39-40. The Praefatio critica (16 pp.) praised. The reviewer, Anton Zingerle, died Dec. 1910. M. Radin, *The Legislation of the Greek and Romans on Corporations* (Thalheim).

13 May. *Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones ueteris et noui testamenti*. Rec. A. Souter. H. v. Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*. Ch. U. Clark, *Some Itala Fragments in Verona* (Weyman).

20 May. I. Ehlert, *De uerborum copia Thucydidea quaestiones selectae* (Hude). E. Preuschen, *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*. Lief. 4-7 (Helbing). 'The work is now complete. Useful in spite of some defects.' A. Schoenemann, *De Taciti Germaniae codicibus capita duo* (Wünsch). E. Müller, *De Graecorum deorum partibus tragicis* (Wecklein). K. Brugmann, *Der Gymnasialunterricht in den beiden klassischen Sprachen und die Sprachwissenschaft* (Niedermann). The reviewer urges the need 'dem Schüler nicht blosse Tatsachen zu vermitteln, sondern vor allen Dingen auch die Fähigkeit, diese Tatsachen zu beurteilen, ihre historischen und logischen Zusammenhänge, ihre physiologischen und psychologischen Ursachen zu verstehen.'

27 May. L. E. Lord, *Literary criticism of Euripides in the earlier scholia and the relation of this criticism to Aristotle's poetics and to Aristophanes* (Wecklein). 'Deserves notice.' L. Robin, *La théorie platonicienne de l'amour* (Schneider). 'Sehr beachtenswert.' E. Zeller's *Kleine Schriften* hrsg. v. O. Leuze. I. (Lortzing). Includes many valuable papers on Greek philosophy. J. W. H. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece* (Blümner). 'Very welcome.' B. Schrader, *Die römische Campagna* (A. Curtius). This number includes a list (to be continued): *Deutsche Dissertationen und akademische Programme*: 1909-10.

Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen. XLII. 1910.

G. Pietoch, *De Choricio Patrocli declamationis auctore*. Although nearly all the MSS. (which are of fourteenth or fifteenth century) name Libanius as the author, the *Florilegium* of Johannes Georgides (not later than tenth century) quotes eight *sententiae* from the *Patroclus* as written by Choricus. Also the dialectic *πρὸς τὸν μεμψόμενον* (included by Matritensis N. 101 amongst works of Choricus) mentions a *Patroclus* written by the author, and its argument seems to agree with that of our *Patroclus*. As regards internal evidence, the work contains words, forms, and constructions frequent in Choricus, but rarely if ever found in Libanius: the evidence of the *clausulae* also favours Choricus. The declamation came to be assigned to Libanius because it was in fact planned as a continuation to Libanius' *Ἀχιλλέως ἀντιλογία* and written (like other works of Choricus) in imitation of Libanius.

Classical Philology. Vol. 6. No. 2. 1911.

Satura—the Genesis of a Literary Form, G. L. Hendrickson. *The Early Gold and Silver Manuscripts*, John M. Burnam. *Two Linguistic Tests of the Relative Antiquity of the Iliad and the Odyssey*, John A. Scott. *The De Compositione of Dionysius of Halicarnassus considered with reference to the Rhetoric of Aristotle*, H. P. Breitenbach. *Roman Prayer and its relation to Ethics*, Gordon J. Laing. *Studies in Greek Noun-Formation—Labial Terminations*, E. H. Sturtevant. Notes and Discussions. *Solon's Trochaics to Phokos*, Paul Shorey. *On a new Argive Inscription*, Carl D. Buck. *Latin ss instead of intervocalic r*, E. H. Sturtevant. Reviews.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1911.

Mar. 25. G. Murray, *Euripidis Fabulae*, III. 'Conservative, but not servile' (Th. O. Achelis).

April 1. W. Geiger, *Elementarbuch des Sanskrit*. 'Has many advantages over other manuals' (M. Winternitz). E. Nachmanson, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altgriechischen Volkssprache* (M. Niedermann).

April 8. A. Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon*. 'A model of careful well-balanced method' (C. Rothe). Hans Lömer, *Römische Kultur im Bilde*. 'Extraordinarily good illustrations' (Fr. Pfister).

April 22. H. Brewer, *Die Frage um das Zeitalter Kommodians* (M. Manitius). H. F. Hitzig, *Die Herkunft des Schwurgerichtes im römischen Strafprozess* (P. Koschaker).

A suggestion that the Roman *quaestio perpetua* was based, not upon the *iudicium publicum* (as Mommsen believed), but on Greek models.

April 29. †H. Osthoff und K. Brugmann, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*. VI. Teil (A. Debrunner). Chiefly posthumous articles of importance by Osthoff. Otto Crusius, *Paroemiographica* (B. A. Müller). E. Löwy, *Die griechische Plastik* (Fr. Hauser). L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 8 Aufl. (O. Seeck). 'An old book which becomes new in each edition.'

May 6. W. Tatarkiewicz, *Die Dispositionen der Aristotelischen Prinzipien* (W. Nestle). 'An able examination of A.'s fundamental principles.' J. Menrad, *Der Urmithus der Odyssee* (E. Bethe). 'An unhappy revival of the solar-myth theory.'

May 13. Otto Rossbach, *T. Livi periochae* (A. M. A. Schmidt).

May 20. A. Leissner, *Die Platonische Lehre von den Seelentheilen* (N. Hartmann). 'Plato starts from the unity of the soul and proceeds to its division, till in his latest dialogues there is hardly a trace of the unity.' W. Wundt, *Kleine Schriften* (A. Messer). H. C. Lipscomb, *Aspects of the Speech in the later Roman Epic* (E. Bickel). 'In the later Epic speeches become fewer, longer, and more declamatory.'

May 27. Frz. Sandgathe, *Die Wahrheit der Kriterien Epikurs* (A. Schmekel). 'Valuable discussion of the φανταστική ἐπιβολὴ τῆς διανοίας and of πρόληψις.' A. Marty, *Zur Sprachphilosophie: die 'logische,' 'lokalistische' und andere Kasustheorien* (E. Utitz). 'Prefers the old division to that of Wundt, but holds that it is not deep enough. A book to which everyone interested in these questions must attend.' A. Meillet, *Einführung in die vergleichende Grammatik* (E. Hermann). 'A Frenchman understands how to make even a dull subject clear and interesting.' P. Varese, *Cronologia romana*, and O. Leuze, *Die römische Jahrszählung* (G. Sigwart). 'Roman chronology is at last placed on a firm basis.'

June 3. H. Schöne, *Galenus de partibus artis medicativae* (W. Schonack). E. Martini, *Grundriss der Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. I. Teil (E. Bickel). 'Catullus is the most happily characterized.'

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 172. XII. 1910.

Gerhart Rodenwaldt, *Die Komposition der pompeianischen Wandgemälde* (Ernst Pfuhl). R. analyses 'Campanian and Roman paintings from 100 B.C. to 100 A.D.,' and tries to determine hence when and how far Greek painting attained to a proper 'Darstellung des Raumes.' R. wrong in assigning solution of the problem to the 'Wirklichkeitsinn' of the Romans, and denying it to the 'Illusionsfähigkeit' of the Greeks. That the Greeks had solved, not merely evaded, the problem is proved *inter alia* by Niobe group, stele from Pagasae, and Alexander mosaic. Χρήστος Τσουντας, Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίων καὶ Σέσκλον (Ernst Pfuhl). An account of Stais and Tsuntas' discoveries (1901-2) in Thessaly at Dimini and Sesklo.

173. II. 1911.

S. Sudhaus, *Der Aufbau der plautinischen Cantica* (Fri. Leo), an exhaustive refutation of S.'s stanza (Stollen) theory. The true structure is according to metrical periods (ἀναβολαί). L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Ludwig Ziehen), very favourable on the whole. F. is unnecessarily averse to the Sondergötter theory. C. M. Clark, *Ammiani Marcellini Libri*, XIV.-XXV. (Fri. Leo), very favourable. Charles Plésent, *Le Culex, Étude sur l'Alexandrinisme latin*—Ders, *Le Culex, Édition crit. et explic.* (Fri. Leo). P. ignorant of Vollmer's work on the *Culex*, and supplies nothing new in text or commentary.

Mnemosyne. 39. 2. 1911.

P. H. Damsté, *Notulae criticae ad Silium Italicum* (from vol. 38): books 9-12. P. H. D., *Ad mensas paniceas*: for Virgil's tale (*Aen.* 3. 255 sqq.) cf. Kinglake's

Eothen, ed. 1905, p. xxx. I. van Wageningen, *Varia*: on Cic. *n. d. i.* §§ 25, 26, 80, Sen. *ep.* ii. 2, iv. 3, xv. 4, 6-7, Persius i. 67. J. v. L., *Ad Iliadis scholia A*: A 189, M 276. H. T. Karsten, *Donatiana et Terentiana*, mostly a long criticism of the view of E. Struck that parts of the Donatian commentary were drawn from Greek scholia on the corresponding plays of Menander; with discussions of some passages of Terence. J. v. L., *Ad hymn. Apoll.* 402. Read ἐπιφράσσαιτο φοβῆσαι. P. H. Damsté, *Ad scriptores Historiae Augustae*. J. J. Hartman, *Adn. crit. ad Plutarchi opera* (continued). Nicias, Crassus, Comp. N. et C., Agesilaus, Pompey, Comp. A. et P., Alexander, Caesar, Phocion, Cato minor. The same, *De Ovidio in exilium proficiscente*. On the false geography of *Tr.* i, 10, 15-20, compared with *Apoll. Rhod.* i, 922-935.

Musée Belge. XV^{me} Année. No. 1. 15 Jan., 1911.

L'histoire dans les Discours de Cicéron, L. Laurand. *Index verborum quae Tertulliani Apologetico continentur*, Paulus Heuen. *Akontios et Kydippè: Nouveau fragment de Callimaque*, Paul Graindor. The fragment is accompanied by translations and notes. *Un tournant de l'histoire de la linguistique*, Antoine Gregoire. This article is a rather favourable criticism of *Programme et méthodes de la linguiste théorique*, by Secheyaye, and of Meillet's *Les dialectes indo-européens*. *Christophe de Longueuil Humaniste (1488-1522)*. Th. Simar.

XV^{me} Année. No. 2. 15 April, 1911.

Christophe de Longueuil Humaniste. Conclusion of the series of articles. *Remarques sur une inscription de Théanguéla*, Paul Graindor. *Belgicus color*, A. Counson. *Un charmeur de serpents arlonais à l'époque romaine*, J. P. Waltzing. *Syntaxe de 'hoc genus'*, J. P. Waltzing.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 27. 3. 1911.

E. Pfuhl, *Die griechische Malerei*. A popular summary, with controversial foot-notes, of the history of ancient painting from the earliest times to Arnold Böcklin, 'the last perfecter of Greek painting in the world-historical sense.' E. Gerland, review of S. P. Lambros' *Ἀργυροπούλεια* (life and remains of Johannes Argyropoulos).

27. 4. 1911.

R. Büttner, *Der Schauplatz von Sophokles' Ödipus auf Kolonos*. A new study of the topography of the play, with a view to a recent paper by Svoronos. Inter alia, B. connects the χαλκόπους ὁδός with some μέταλλα χαλκοῦ (see the scholiast) of which he finds traces on the N.W. side of the hill. ἔρειψι' Ἀθηνῶν may hint at the geological affinities of the hill with the Akropolis (cf. Plato *Kritias* 112) as well as to the connexion of both places with Athene and Poseidon. In 1595-6 read ἐφ' οὗ μέσον στάς, τοῦδε θοῦρκίου (τοῦ ὀρκίου) πέτρον, κοιλῆς τ' ἀχέρδου κατὰ λαῖνον τάφου καθέξερ'. A. Schulten, *Termantia*. The Celtiberian town Termantia (Τερμησσός, Termeste, Termes), its history, its environs, and its Iberian and Roman remains. Reviews of C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's *Die historische Semiramis* (R. Stübe), of *Münchener archäologische Studien dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidmet* (G. Weicker), of G. A. Gerhard's *Phoinix von Kolophon* (W. Capelle), and of A. Roersch, *L'Humanisme belge à l'Époque de la Renaissance* (L. Enthoven).

Philologus. Bd. LXIX. 4 Heft. 1910.

Fr. Zucker, *Zu den Klagschriften mit Schlussbitte um Registrierung*. Discusses the significance of the καταχωρισμός and ἀχθῆναι formulæ in the papyri with reference to Mitteis' article in 'Berichte der Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.,' Bd. 62, pp. 61 sqq. J. Baunack, *Die Abkürzung γαε in argivischen Inschriften*. Explains the abbreviation as γενόμενος ἀπ-ελεύθερος. E. Kalinka, *Zu Cäsars Schriften*. I. *Die Anticatones*.

Attributes only one Anticato to Caesar; the other (prior) was written by Hirtius. II. *Die Widmungsbrief vor dem viii. commentarius de bello Gallico*—Imperfectus commentarius ap. loc=incohatus de bello Alexandrino. III. *Der Titel des commentarius vom Krieg in der Provinz Africa*. Explains variant titles 'Africum' and 'Africanum,' as due to original 'liber belli Africae'. Th. Stangl, *Asconiana, Sprachliche und textkritische Untersuchungen*. Detailed investigations into A. in reference to Clark's Oxford text. W. Soltau, *Die Diktatorenjahre*. Attacks Leuze's theory, as put forward in the latter's 'Römische Jahrzahl' (1909). H. Uhle, Zu μ. 101 sq. ἀλλήλων really=τοῦ ἑτέρου, cf. Soph. Antig. 450 sqq., Oed. Col. 638. Hermann Kling, *Hilarius von Poitiers und Sallust*. Imitations of Sallust in Hilarius de trin. l. 1. G. Helmreich, *Gaitanus*—Γαῖτανος. Gaitano (lino) ap. Marcellus 8. 27, confirmed by Galen. *method. med.* xiv. 22, where it is said the βρόχοι γαῖτανοι come from Gaul and are sold in the Via Sacra. Gaitanus is naturally employed by the Gaul Marcellus, and survives in modern Greek γαῖτάνι=γαειτάνι. O. Crusius, *Der gepeitschte Dämon*. C. comparing Tert. Apol. 15 sees in λαμβάνουσα τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φυτοῦ λόγον ἐμάστιζεν ἑαυτήν, ὡς δῆθεν τὴν Ἑκάτην ἐκ τούτου λυποῦσα (Paroemiographica, Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Academie 1910 iv. p. 54 sq.) an echo of an ancient mime, and refers to a modern parallel in Hebbel, *Genoveva* Act IV. Sc. 6.

LXX. Band, 1 Heft. March, 1911.

Wilh. Nestle, *Spuren der Sophistik bei Isocrates*. Traces the influence of Gorgias, Protagoras, Prodicus, and other fifth-century sophists on Isocrates, who also shows some knowledge of early Greek philosophy, and has affinities with Democritus. R. Hillebrandt, *Zu bekannten Stellen*. (i.) Hor. C. i. 3, 9, robur et aes triplex='block of oak overlaid with triple covering of brass.' (ii.) χαλκός='vessel of brass.' (iii.) *Aetna* 244, Saturni stella tenax: tenax is here active=ἐχενής. (iv.) *Aen.* ii. 409, passis crinibus 'by her hair.' (v.) Herod. v. 48: the significance of the name of Cleomenes' daughter. (vi.) E. 842, Περιφάντα πελώριον: the proper name suggests the epithet. Fr. Zucker, discussion of inscription published in *Klio* x. 2. Karl Barwick, *Zur Servius Frage*. Discussion of scholia inserted in some MSS. into Servius' commentary to Virgil. These are the remains of an old Virgil commentary, probably first combined with Servius in the seventh century in Ireland. A. Semenov, *Zur dorischen Knabenliebe*. Controverses the views of Bethe in *Rhein. Mus.* lxii. p. 438. A. Ruppertsberg, *Εἰσπνήλας*. Also against Bethe. Miscellen.

Revue des Études grecques. Vol. XXIII. Nos. 103-104.

Allocution de M. Omont, Président de l'association. *Quelques observations sur la question de la Nationalité des anciens Macedoniens*, Gawril Kazarow. He holds that the Macedonians were not a pure race. They comprised pre-Indo-European, Thracian, Illyrian, and Greek elements. *Acontios et Cydippé*, A. Puech. Teub. translation and notes. *Corrections à une inscription de Delos*, Gustave Glort. 'It is necessary to correct M. Homolle's reading where the number of obols is concerned.' *La Sépulture de Marcellus à Athènes*, René Pichon. Bulletin Épigraphique. Comptes rendus bibliographiques.

Vol. XXIII. No. 105. Nov.-Dec., 1910.

Quelques conventions primitives de l'art grecque, an important contribution by W. Deonna. The writer shows that primitive art is founded on the simple geometrical figures. *Deux lettres inédites d'Ambroise Firmin Didot*. There is also an exhaustive 'Bibliographie annuelle des Études grecques,' by Ch. Em. Ruelle. Notices: Britsch's *La jeune Athènes* (L. Meridier); Diès' *Le cycle mystique: a study of pre-Socratic religious Theories* (Albert Rivaud); Diès' *La définition de l'être et la nature des Idées dans le 'Sophiste' de Platon* (Rivaud). An important contribution to the question of the development of Plato's Idealism. Foucart's *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonèse de Thrace au IV^e Siècle* (J. Carcopino); Mueller's *De Graecorum deorum partibus tragicis* (Emile Cahen); Tyrrell's *Essays on Greek Literature* (Paul Collart).

Rheinisches Museum. 66. 2. 1911.

W. Kroll, *Randbemerkungen*. Notes on Anaximenes, and on 'the Isocratean Anonymus'; criticisms of Süss's *Ethos* (Korax, εἰκός, Plato *Phaedr.* 276a, Gorgias, etc.); on Menander περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν; emendations of Seneca *qu. nat.* III pr. 4, 1. 18, 15. 3, 18. 3. L. Radermacher, *Eine Aristophanische Reminiszenz?* The relations between the scene in *Frogs* 549 sqq. (Herakles and the hostess) and a Slavonic tale; with other illustrations of the Herakles legend from modern folk-tales. W. Süss, *Theramenes der Rhetor und Verwandtes*. S. explains the language of Ar. *Frogs* 534-8 by reference to the rhetorical writings, περὶ εἰκόνων, περὶ σχημάτων, etc., ascribed by Suidas to Th., and examines the history of σχῆμα, a loan from gymnastics, as a term of rhetorical and literary criticism. H. Mutschmann, *Die Stufen der Wahrscheinlichkeit bei Karneades*. Of Sextus Empiricus' two accounts of the three grades, that which comes from Kleitomachos is to be preferred. A. Elter, *Epigraphica*. IG 12, 5 n. 225; IGA 370, 492, 412; CIA 1, 332; IGA 401 (the ways in which hexameters and pentameters are divided in inscriptions). A. Brinkmann, *Ein Brief Platons*. A defence of the authenticity of *ep.* 6. R. Philippon, *Zu Ciceros erstem Buche de Finibus*. Against H. Biglione's view that C. used his notes of the lectures of Zenon and Phaidros, and was guilty of misunderstandings, especially in §§ 31 and 69 sq. O. Leuze, *Das synchronistische Kapitel des Gellius* (N. A. xvii 21). L. distinguishes the sections drawn from Nepos, and from a source (possibly, but not certainly, Atticus' *liber annalis*) which used the Varronian chronology: these two sources G. never blends. A. Roemer, *Der angebliche Einheitlichkeits- und Gleichheitsfanatismus in der Homerkritik und Homexegese Aristarchs*. A long paper (to be continued) arguing that the desire to force the poet into uniformity and consistency with himself at all costs is quite foreign to A. L. Radermacher, *Nachtrag zu Rhein. Mus. LXIII S. 551 ff.* A Westphalian analogue to the story (Athen. 281b, from the κάθοδος 'Ατρείδων) of Tantalos at the gods' table with the boulder hanging over his head, and to that of Damokles and the sword. F. Solmsen, *Noch einmal arkad. ἀψευδήων*. Cf. vol. 65, pp. 321, 325. S. defends the assumption of an Arcadian 1st sing. conj. in -ων.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 39. No. 2. 1911.

Observations on the Priapea and Catalepton of Vergil, Massimo Lenchantin de Gubernatis. A collection of notes on the language and topics of the various pieces with a few conjectures. *For the Sicilian origin of Theognis* (a critical letter to G. Beloch), Umberto Mancuso. 'With the expunging of verses 773-788' [an insertion, the author of which was a native of Megara in Greece Proper] 'all disagreement over the age and country of Theognis loses its *raison d'être*.' *Critical notes on the Persae of Timotheos*, Giuseppe Fraccaroli. Observations on the text of various passages. E.g. in 4 ποσὶ is retained and taken in the literal sense. In 40-41 <βιοτο>πέδιος is proposed. *In Velleium Paterculium*, Ed. Aloysius de Stefani. Notes on II 4. 1, 24. 4, 39. 1. *On the fate of certain Latin texts*, Remigio Sabbadini. Contributions to the textual history of the following: Grillius on the *de Inventione*, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Frontini *Epistolae*, Palaemonis *de proprietate sermonis*, Ciceronis *Verrinae*, Ciceronis *Aratea*, Plautus, Columella, Martialis, Petronius. *On two passages of the Bacchae of Euripides*, Achille Cosattini. 787 l. πείσῃ fr. πάσχω; 327 οὐτ'—νοσεῖς. The text is sound; φάρμακα may be either good or bad. *The Teubner edition of the Adnotationes super Lucanum* (Endt), Vincenzo Ussani. The importance of the scholia in this volume, which is an 'edition' only 'up to a point,' is insisted on. It is not clear how far Endt's view that the adnotationes are derived 'ex Vaccae expositione' should be accepted. Reasons are given for supposing that in part at least these scholia may claim a high antiquity; there are no Christian allusions, and Nero's poetry is quoted on III 261. We need an edition of Lucan

which should give the scholia their proper weight, as, excepting the palimpsests, our MSS all go back to a recension of Carolingian times.

Wiener Studien. XXXII, 1.

Theodor Gomperz, *Zu Kallimachos*, pp. 1-3. Emends *Hymnus in Dianam* l. 121 to τὸ τρίτον αὐτ' ἐπὶ σὺν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον οὐκ ἔτι θῆρα; and *Kydisippe* l. 39 to κούρη· πᾶν δ' ἀνετὼς ἐξεκάλυψεν ἔπος. id. *das Götterbruchstück des Protagoras*, pp. 4-6. The account given by Diogenes, IX. 51 is to be preferred to that of Eusebius or of Sex. Empiricus. A. Nathansky, *Des Aischylos Danaïs*, pp. 7-37. Attempts a reconstruction of the *Tetralogie*, mainly by inferences as to number of, and part played by, the chorus. A. Ledl, *Die Einsetzung des Rates der Vierhundert in Athen im Jahre 411 v. Chr.* pp. 38-54. Examination of the statements of Aristotle and Thucydides. The Council of the Four Hundred was not legally constituted, but self-appointed. T. Mesk, *Die Anklagerede des Polykrates gegen Sokrates*, pp. 55-84. Reconstruction of the speech. It was directed against the Socratic School, and had also the political object of justifying the condemnation of Socrates. Siegfried Mekler, *Zum Carmen de uiribus herbarum*, pp. 85-88. A comparison of Haupt's ed. (based on Hartel's collation) with the original in the Dioskorides Codex (Vienna). Paula Stephanie, *Zur Frage der Echtheit des Dialogs Senecas ad Polybium de Consolatione*, pp. 89-96. A comparison of this with four other dialogues of Seneca in respect of the use of certain pronouns and particles, strengthens the conclusions (favourable to the authenticity of the work) of Isleib. J. M. Stowasser, *Lexicalische Vermutungen zur lateinischen Anthologie*, pp. 97-111. Emendations. Id. *Der angeblich selbständige Genetiv des Gerundium*, pp. 112-116. Apparent examples are to be explained away by emendation, or by other methods of interpretation. Errors of scribes must not be taken for examples of Vulgar Latin usage. Stephan Brassloff, *Sevirat und Vigintivirat*, pp. 117-21. The *triumviri capitales* could not be 'commended' by the emperor and therefore, like other officials similarly disqualified, could not become *seviri* before time of Severus Alexander. Johann Endt, *Ein Kommentar zu Lucan aus dem Mittelalter*, pp. 122-55. This commentary (in MS IV C 5 of Prague Univ. Library) gives the Lucan scholia of Vacca. It is clear that Vacca was the author of the scholia W¹C but not of those in AR¹. List of Vacca scholia in *p. Miscellen*. Kamillo Hatschek: In Soph. *Trach.* 596 for σκότῳ read κότῳ. L. Radermacher: In the Apokalypsis of Peter, 21, for αὐτῶν read χιτῶνα (χιτῶν?). Adolf Berger: In the *commentum Cornuti* the scholium on Persius, II. 14 was written probably in the third or fourth century. †J. M. Stowasser: *amuletum* is a derivative of *hāmulus*, (*h*)*āmülētum*. Edmund Hauler: In Fronto (p. 162 l. 14 f. Naber) we must read *Accius*, *Plautus* . . . not <M>*accius Plautus*.

XXXII, 2.

Franz Stürmer, *Über einen Versuch der Wiederherstellung der Odyssee*, pp. 161-193. Unfavourable criticism of the second part of Schiller's *Beiträge zur Wiederherstellung der Odyssee*, Programm of the Gymnasium at Furth, 1908. Leonhard Siegel, *Zur pseudo-Xenophontischen 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*, pp. 194-199. I 2, ζητεῖ has fallen out after πλέον ἔχειν. I 5 read χρημάτων <τῶν ὑπαρχόντων> ἐνίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. I 14 for ὡς δοκοῦσι read ὁμοδοκῶσι. ἐκπλέοντες, γινώσκοντες, ἰσχυροί are sound. L. Radermacher, *Kritische Beiträge*, pp. 200-207. Demosthenes, in *Midiam* § 52 read Ἡρακλεῖ <ἀλεξικάκῳ καὶ> Ἀπόλλωνι. *Amherst-Papyri* II no. 130 πλήν=πλεῖν=πλέον cf. δεῖν=δέον. Dionysius Hal. τέχνη περὶ ἐσχηματισμένων A, p. 297, 4 delete the second λέγει (λέγη). In the oracle published by Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* p. 77 read in l. 10 ὁμοῦ δὴ λῶιον. In Heberdey-Kalinka, *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* II no. 70 βουκονιστήριον=βυκανιστήριον. Petronius, 57 *stupēs* . . . in *erulia* is sound. For *in*+acc. cf. Tertullian *Spect.* 21 *ad cadauer exhorret*. Seneca *ep.* 51 *ad fin.* read *latronum more quos stilistas Aegyptii uocant*. Quintilian, *Inst.* 7, 2, 16 read *sumendum est enim ex his exemplis*. Hans Lackenbacher,

Zur Komposition von Buch I des Lucrez, pp. 208-212. The verses I 951 sqq. originally came after II 332. Id. *Zur Disposition und Quellenfrage von Lucrez IV* 1-521, pp. 213-238. Lucretius used two sources, one for ll. 54-238, the other for ll. 239-521. Josef Mesk, *Die Überarbeitung des Plinianischen Panegyricus auf Traian*, pp. 239-260. Discussion of the nature and extent of the revision. R. Bitschowsky, *Zu den Fabeln des Romulus*, pp. 261-271. Interpretation. Johann Endt, *Ein Kommentar zu Lucan aus dem Mittelalter II* pp. 272-295. Wilhelm A. Bauer, *Die spartanischen Nauarchen der Jahre 397-395* pp. 296-314. I. Pharax 397/6. II. Pollis und Cheirikrates 395/4. *Miszellen* pp. 315-326: W. A. Bauer, ἐπιβάρης was a military title given mainly to officers in charge of troops on guard. N. Vulić, *Catulls LI Gedicht und sein Sapphisches Vorbild*, discusses meaning of ἴσος θέσιον. Edmund Hauler, *zu den Lücken im Texte der Cena Trimalchionis*, deals with c. 26, 7; 27; 29. Karl Prinz, *zu Martial Spect. XXI. 8: Anth. Pal. XI. 254* supports Housman's emendation. Johann Endt, *Aus dem Sangallensis 864 (zu den Adnotationes super Lucanum)*. Edmund Hauler, *Zu Fronto*, S. 162 Z 5 sqq. (Naber). Emendations.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1911.

6 Mar. E. Rabel, *Die Verfügungsbeschränkungen des Verpfänders, besonders in den Papyri* (P. Viereck). Th. Fitzhugh, *The evolution of the Saturnian verse and The literary Saturnian*. I. Livius Andronicus (H. Draheim).

13 Mar. W. Kopp, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. 7. Aufl. Von O. Kohl (R. Wagner). Fr. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*. Deutsch von E. Gehrich (W. Nestle). *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften*, herausg. von E. Diehl. Vol. 62 in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* (A. Stein). J. Ziehen, *Die Darstellung der Tiere in der antiken Kunst* (Fr. Harder).

20 Mar. G. Kazarow, *Quelques observations sur la question de la nationalité des anciens Macédoniens* (G. Wartenberg). A. Cartault, *Le distique élégiaque chez Tibulle, Sulpicia, Lygdamus* (J. Hilberg). Seneca, *Ausgewählte moralische Briefe als Einführung in die Probleme der stoischen Philosophie*, herausg. von P. Hauck (W. Gemoll).

27 Mar. A. Gruhn, *Der Schauplatz der Ilias und Odyssee*. 9. Heft. *Kyklopen und Phäaken* (C. Rothe). A. W. Verrall, *The Bacchants of Euripides and other essays* (K. Busche). G. J. Laing, *Roman milestones and the Capita viarum* (A. Stein). Minucii Felicis Octavius, con introduzione e commento, di L. Valmaggi (C. Weyman). A. S. Pease, *A Harvard manuscript of St. Augustine* (C. Weyman).

3 April. H. Richards, *Aristophanes and others* (E. Wush). *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*, herausg. von N. Bonwetsch (J. Dräseke).

10 April. G. Wilke, *Spiral-Mäander-Keramik und Gefässmalerei, Hellenen und Thraken* (O. Engelhardt). P. Germann, *Die sogenannten Sententiae Varronis* (Fr. Harder). *Palaeographica latina*. Exempla codd. Latinorum phototypice expressa, ed. M. Ihm. I. (C. Weyman).

17 April. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, Μεγαρικοί σκύφοι Φθιωτίδων Θηβῶν (O. Engelhardt). V. Macchioro, *Nuova rappresentanza vascolare del mito di Oreste* (O. Engelhardt). J. Schroeder, *Quaestiones Donatianae* (K. Cybulla). H. H. Kritzinger, *Der Stern der Weisen*. Astronomisch-kritische Studien (F. K. Ginzel). *Quellenkunde zur Weltgeschichte*. Ein Handbuch, unter Mitwirkung von A. Hofmeister und R. Stübe, herausg. von P. Herre (Köhler).

24 April. *Die Anthropologie und die Klassiker*. Sechs Vorlesungen von A. J. Evans, A. Lang, G. G. Murray, F. B. Jevons, J. L. Myres, W. W. Fowler, herausg. von R. R. Marett, übersetzt von J. Hoops (E. Drerup). *Caesar's Gallic War*, transl. by F. P. Long (H. Meusel). 'Rather a paraphrase than a translation.' F. Teichmüller, *Das Nichthorazische in der Horazüberlieferung* (H. Röhl).

1 May. J. M. Edmonds, *The new fragments of Alcaeus, Sappho and Corinna* (J. Sitzler). *Stories from Ovid's Metamorphoses*, ed. by D. A. Slater (Fr. Pfister). J. Curle, *A Roman frontier post and its people. The fort of Newstead in the parish of Melrose* (A. Schulten).

8 May. O. Seeman, *Mythologie der Griechen und Römer*. 5. Aufl. von R. Engelmann (H. Steinberg). E. Gollob, *Medizinische griechische Handschriften des Jesuitenkollegiums in Wien* (R. Fuchs). J. G. Rolf, 1. *Vela cadunt* (Verg. *Aen.* III. 207). 2. *Largiter posse*, Caes. B. G. I. 18 (H. D.). G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius und Persius*. (R. Helm).

15 May. R. S. Bonner, *The Boeotian federal constitution* (Fr. Cauer). D. M. Robinson, *New Greek Inscriptions from Attica, Achaia, Lydia* (W. Larfeld). G. Treu, *Hellenische Stimmungen in der Bildhauerei von einst und jetzt* (O. Achelis).

22 May. E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (W. Nestle). J. Menrad, *Der Urmythus der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung: des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt* (H. Steuding). R. C. Flickinger, *Scaenica* (H. Blümner). On the terminology of the ancient theatre. M. Heinemann, *Epistulae amatoriae quomodo cohaereant cum elegiis Alexandrinis* (Fr. Pfister). O. Th. Schulz, *Über die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Verhältnisse bei den Germanen zur Zeit des C. Julius Cäsar* (E. Wilisch). J. B. Bury, *The imperial administrative system in the ninth century; with a revised text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (F. Hirsch).

29 May. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur*, fortgeführt von P. Arndt. Lief. 121-126 (W. Amelung). I. M. Nistler, *Die Gedankenabfolge in der pseudo-Xenophontischen Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία und die Umstellungsversuche* (Fr. Cauer). H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*. Kap. I-III. 2. Aufl. (O. Stählin).

5 June. H. v. Pestalozza, *Homer's Frauengestalten* (T. O. Achelis). Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur*, fortgeführt von P. Arndt. Lief. 121-126 (W. Amelung). II. Th. Fitzhugh, *The literary Saturnian. II. Naevius and the later Italic tradition* (Draheim). *Vettii Valentis Anthologiarum libri*, prim. ed. Guil. Kroll (R. Fuchs).

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. III Band, 2 Heft. 1911.

K. Witte, *Zur homerischen Sprache* (continuation). v. εἶσω c. accus. except *Od.* 7. 135; 8. 290, where it is combined with δώματος, which Witte explains as due to the analogy of δόμον Ἀϊδὸς εἶσω and Ἀϊδὸς εἶσω. vi. Cases of fluctuating gender, e.g. ὁ ἡ ἀήρ, often due to adjectives 'of two terminations.' vii. New inflections created *metri gratia*. viii.-ix. Influence of metre in retarding or accelerating phonetic change, with special reference to the bucolic diaeresis; the hexameters that have no b. d. represent a 'younger type' of verse, as the hex. is derived from two originally independent lines, viz. (1) a 'daktylischer Vierheber,' which was itself a combination of three meters — — — — | — — — — | — — — — |, and (2) — — — — —. Proof to be given in Witte's forthcoming *Untersuchungen zur Sprach- und Versgeschichte des griechischen Epos*. A. Körte, *Die Episyraloiphe*. Cases of elision at the end of a line. The writer is wrong when he says, 'Das Wort ἐπισυναλοιφή fehlt in den Wörterbüchern'; Sophocles (Gk. Lex. Rom. Byz.) gives it with a ref. to *Heph.* 4. 7, and a note on its use by Latin grammarians. P. Kretschmer, *Griechisches*. i. Hyagnis. ii. *Die Weihinschrift von Ligurio*; attempts at explanation, ΗΕΠΙΡΟΡΟΕ=ἐμφρουροι. iii. βούλομαι not from βόλομαι but an -s- aor. subj. with ο from βόλομαι. P. Linde. Rejects the usual explanation of urnasier in *Tab. Iguv.* 5. as =urnariis, 'at the urn-festival' (Conway, Buck, etc.), and equates it with ordinariis, 'at the ordinary (regular)

meetings.' E. Löfstedt, *Plautinischer Sprachgebrauch*. Discussions of *Amph.* 974, *Capt.* 416, *Cas.* 198, *Curc.* 260, *Epid.* 631, *Men.* 192, *Merc.* 51, *Most.* 198, 642, *Pseud.* 875. C. Weyman, *Lexikalische Notizen*; *carus* = 'loving'; *cumque* = *quandocumque*, exx. in support of *cumque*, *Hor. Od.* i. 32. 15; *desputare*; *fulxi* as perf. of *fulcio* espec. in the phrase *fulxit honore*; *glisco*, 'I desire,' common in med. Latin, rejected by W. in favour of *gestio* *Stat. Theb.* 3. 71. S. P. Thomas, *Zu populus und populor*. Attempts to prove that *populus* = 'army'; his arguments are far from convincing, as he can give no instance in Latin, only 'indications' and 'supports.' Skutsch adds a note accepting the connection between the two words, but not T's explanation of the noun (cognate with *pellere*); he prefers to derive *populus* from *ploplos*, 'that which fills a district,' cf. *πλήρωμα*; *depopulor* and *populor*, 'strip a place of its inhabitants,' a meaning which adds point to the jest in *Caecilius* 13, '*iamdudum depopulat macellum*,' 'strips the market of its denizens.' Nicos Beis (a well-known writer in Modern Greek journals) on *οικητήριον*, 'grave,' common in Christian epitaphs. This use of the word was in Paul's mind when he wrote 2 Cor. v. 2.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXVIII Band, 3 Heft. 1911.

W. Wundt, *Sprachwissenschaft und Völkerpsychologie*. A criticism of a speech by Hermann Paul (15 June, 1910) in which P. denied the existence of a *Volksseele*. E. Fraenkel, *Grammatisches und Syntaktisches*. Cases of words that lose their special sense and come to be applied loosely to a wider class, e.g. *ἵπποι βουκολέοντο, χρυσᾶ ἀργυρίδες*, *aedificare nauem*. Words in apposition or agreement with a noun, etc., implied in an adjective, e.g. *τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπεισόδου, ὃν μήτ' ὀκνεῖτε* *Oed. Col.* 730. *οὐδέ* after a comparative = ἤ. Three forms from the Coan dialect in Hippocrates, viz. *οὐατα* (not *Ionian*); (2) *ὀρκίζειν* of which the only instance in Ionic comes from Halicarnassus; (3) *πριοῦν* = *πρίειν*. *ἐνπέλα* (Selinus), 'nahe dich,' an imperative from an athematic verb *πέλαμι*. A discussion of the Doric *αὐτοσαντοῦ*, etc. In *K.Z.* 43. 216. Fr. had inferred (from *πρέσβειρα*) a form *πρέσβων*; he has since had the satisfaction of finding it on an inscr. from Chios. Notes on syllabic liquids in S. Achaeian. E. Rodenbusch, *Präsentia in perfektischer Bedeutung*. The present tense is used with a perfect sense when something in the making is regarded as already made, e.g. '*murus oppidum cingit*,' 'the hill rises in the plain' (= 'is erect'): this is more common in Latin and German than in Greek. Brugmann, *Wortgeschichtliche Miszellen*. *ἀκέομαι*, (-*κες*-), 'I work with a sharp instrument'; *ἀ-* is the Schwundstufe of *ἐν* as in *ἀσπάζομαι*; cf. *Μαχάων*, 'healer with the knife.' *ὀπυῖω* (*ὀπυσω*) from *ὀ-πυς-* (cf. *ὀπυστός* Cretan) means 'look after the house with,' cf. Sanskrit *puṣḥ*: *ὀ* = 'with' as in *ὀ-φυγες* and *ὀ-αρ-* (cf. *ἀραρεῖν*) in *ὀαρίζω*, etc. Heracl.-Sic. *ἄντομος* = 'border strip of land,' 'the place cut as a border,' orig. 'the cutting of the place,' cf. *τομή*, 'the cut end,' *Thuc.* 2. 76. *Intestinus* not connected with *intus*, as the -*tes-* grade does not occur elsewhere in adverbs, but = *entero-sto-inus*. *Etrusci* = Umbrian *etro-* 'other' + *us* = (1) *ōra* and *ūs-* in *tellūs* or (2) *rūs*; 'other land,' for which sense he aptly compares *Elsass*. [Add *Allo-broges*.] The resemblance to *Tusci* is only accidental. E. Hermann gives a brief summary of his investigation of close final syllables in Greek, and Schwyzler has a note on *Haploglogie im Satzzusammenhang*; *βάλλ' ὄνυχας* *Hes. Scut.* 254 is for *βάλλον ὄνυχας*.

Anzeiger, 1 Heft.

Brugmann discusses his own pamphlet on the teaching of classics in German gymnasia; a plea for the scientific equipment of the teacher and the importance of his being in touch with the most recent discoveries in the subject he teaches. A doctor who does not keep himself abreast of medical research is not dealing fairly with his patients; the same applies to the teacher. A knowledge of *Sprachwissenschaft* would make the grammar lessons more interesting and effective. Reviews of the new journal, *Wörter und Sachen* (2nd. No.), by W. Foy; Ogden's dissertation on

The Final Infin. in Early Gk. Poetry, by Meltzer; Triandaphyllidis' *Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur*, by Hatzidakis; books by Pernot and Dieterich on Mod. Greek dialects, Buturas on the foreign element in post-classical Greek, R. Meister on a Cyprian ostrakon, by Thumb. There is also a very harsh but apparently just condemnation by Vasmer of a book in which Gleye endeavours to prove the Finnish-Ugrian relations of the Hittite language.

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. XVI. 4.

Étude de quelques correspondances de Sonores bantoues, L. Homburger. *Deux notes sur les formes verbales indo-européennes*, A. Meillet. *Sur l'emploi de l'infinitif au génitif dans quelques langues indo-européennes*, J. Vendryes. *Grec ἐλίκη 'Säule'*, E. Boisacq. *Des noms de l'abeille et de la ruche en indo-européen et en finnougrien*, R. Gauthiot. *Notes de phonétique général*, L. Ščerba. *Une survivance remarquable dans le parler actuel de Kfür-Abîda*, M. Féghali et A. Cuny.

XVI. 5.

Notes de phonétique (Afrique occidentale), E. Destaing. *Sur quelques présents en ā du verbe italo-celtique*, J. Vendryes. *Persica*, A. Meillet. *À propos du nom de Zoroastre*, R. Gauthiot. *Nouvelle contribution à l'étymologie de explorare*, A. Cuny. *Φθία, Θέτταλος, Θετταλία*, A. Cuny. *Gaulois odocos, Latin ebulum. Sur un préfixe des langues caucasiennes du sud*, Th. Kluge. *La phrase nominale pure en arménien*, A. Meillet.

XVI. 6.

Recueil de mots Kurdes, H. Adjarian. *À propos de Cyprîote μεγαλαθεω*, A. Meillet. Mr.'s view is that the ι represents a close ε partially nasalized by the preceding μ. *Les langues voltaïques*. A study of the languages around the Bight of Benin.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

THE objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1911.

SENECA TRAGOEDVS AGAIN.

AFTER Mr. Stuart (*C.Q.* v. 1) and Mr. Hardie (*ib.* v. 2) I ought to be shy of speaking upon the Tragedies of Seneca. But Mr. Stuart and Mr. Hardie have stirred the dust that lay upon notes which I have had by me for some four years: and their papers encourage the hope that there is among English scholars some revival of interest in Seneca. I am afraid that I myself read Seneca for pleasure, with admiration for the justness of his moral sentiments and with affection for his style. Yet I can hardly be blind to the opportunities which his text offers to those who practice the art of critical divination. No one who glances through the *Apparatus* to Leo's edition can fail to be astonished at the number of obvious emendations which Leo himself, after so many centuries, was the first to make; and no one who knows Leo will suppose that he has left nothing for subsequent critics to do. Seneca has, in fact, always been carelessly read. Unless I am very much deceived, I have been able at *Herc. Oet.* 1185 to give an entirely new sense to a perplexed passage merely by correcting a misprint. See below, p. 211.

I begin with the *Hercules Oetaeus*, the longest of our plays and the one where I have most suggestions to offer.

I.

HERCVLES OETAEVVS.

503-4.

transire Nessus uerticem solitus uagus
pretium poposcit
uagus *E*: uagum *A*.

Editors are content to receive from the Renascence MSS. *uadis* for *uagus*, without further change. But compare, first, Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 8. 299: *fluvium in quo Nessus commeantes transuehebat*; and, secondly, Diodorus, 4. 36 (Vogel): κατέλαβε Νέσσον τὸν Κένταυρον μισθοῦ διαβιβάζοντα τὸν ποταμόν. οὗτος δὲ πρῶτην διαβιβάσας τὴν Δηϊάνειραν, κ.τ.λ., and write

transi<ce>re Nessus uerticem solitus uagus.

574-5.

sed iecur fors horridum
flectam merendo.

Surely *torridum*. Herculis iecur ardet, torretur, amore Ioles.

697-9.

transit tutos Fortuna sinus
medioque rates quaerit in alto,
quarum feriunt sipara nubes.

If *sinus* in 697 means, as it surely must, not 'bays' 'harbours,' but 'sails,' (cf. Sil. Ital. 7. 241-4 *fortunae Libys incumbit flatuque secundo fidit agens puppim, dum desinat aura sinusque destituat tumidos subducto flamine uentus*), then *cautos* for *tutos* in 697 seems a necessary change.

903-5.

Hic ipse Megaram nempe confixam suis
strauit sagittis atque natorum indolem
Lernaea fugiens tela furibunda manu.

The use of *indolem* in 904 is peculiar, and we should compare *Thyest.* 492-3.

et ipsum et una generis inuisi *indolem*
iunctam parenti cerno.

Festus explains *indoles* as = *incrementum* : and the *C.Gl.L.* constantly gives *incrementum* and *progenies* as equivalents for *indoles* (e.g. IV. 91, 248, 528 : V. 504). It looks, therefore, as though Seneca in these two passages had put *indolem* for *subolem*—a usage not remarked in the Lexicons.

929-30.

quicumque misero forte dissuadet mori
crudelis ille est.

forte seems intolerably weak. I suspect that the true reading is *sponte* (*sponte mori* together, of course : for this separation cf. *Troad.* 573 *coacta dices sponte quod fari abnuis*).

997-9.

ita nulla perages iussa nec franges mala
erres per orbem si qua nascetur fera
referes parentem : dexteram intrepidam para.

997. peragas A : franges] peragens A. 998. om. E. 999. referas A.

Compare 1327-1331.

ita nulla saeuas terra concipiat feras
post me sepultum, nec meas unquam manus
imploret orbis, si qua nascetur fera (nascentur mala E)
nascatur ultor : undique infelix caput
mactate saxis

and write

ita nulla peragas iussa nec frangens mala
[erres per orbem si qua nascetur fera]
referas parentem, dexteram intrepidam para.

—i.e. as you hope never to have to perform the toils of your father, slay me.
998 is pretty obviously an interpolation modelled on 1329. It is omitted
by *E*: and it is significant that at 1329 *E* does not offer *nascetur fera*.

1003-4.

quaenam ista torquens angue uipereo comam
temporibus atras (hastas *E*) squalidis pinnas quatit ?

In 1003 Peiper's *vibrato* for *uipereo* (cf. *H. F.* 789) is probably right. In
1004 I would propose

sulpuribus atras (or *ustas*) squalidis pinus quatit ?

which suits with the line following,

quid me *flagranti*, Dira, persequeris *face* ?

1012-13.

hic ecce patiens dira Tisiphone stetit :
causam reposit. parce uerberibus, precor.

For *patiens* (*E*) in 1012 editors accept the *pallens* of *A*. But at 1475 *E* has
patiens for *quatiens*. Read here, therefore,

hic ecce *quatiens lora e. q. s.*

quatiens lora is caught up by *parce uerberibus* in 1013. *dira* for *lora* is due
to *dira* in 1005, 1007.

1029-1030.

urget hinc illinc scelus.

inhibenda tamen est. pergam (uerum *E*) et eripiam scelus.

scelus in 1030, repeated accidentally from 1029, has perhaps expelled some
such word as *neci*. Read

pergam et eripiam *neci*.

E's *uerum* came from 1031.

1183-6.

si nimis, superi, fuit,
Scythico sub axe genita domuisset meas
uires Amazon. feminae ciuis manu
Iunonis hostis uincor ?

In 1185 I have written *ciuis* for the meaningless *cuius* of the MSS. (For
the phrase *ciuis femina* see the Lexicons s.v. *ciuis*.) The change can hardly be
called a conjecture, for the correction might very well have been made by a
proof-reader.

1523-4.

quique sub plaustro patiuntur ursae,
quique feruentem patiuntur axem.

For *patiuntur* in 1523 read *glaciantur* (neglecting *E*'s clumsy attempt [*feruenti quatiuntur axe*] to correct 1524) : cf. Lucan V. 22-3: *nam uel Hyperboreae plaustrum glaciale sub Ursae uel plaga qua feruens claususque uaporibus axis.*

1558-60.

Aeacos inter geminosque Cretas
facta discernes. Miseris, tyranni,
parcite, audaces inhibete dextras.

1559. *discernes A* : *discernens E* ; *miseris scripsi* : *feri A* : *feriens E*. 1560. *audaces scripsi* : *o duces E* : *o dites A*.

1636.

nullique priscum profuit luco nemus.

For *nemus* Koetschau writes *decus*, which Richter accepts. Perhaps *priscus . . . metus*. It is unlikely that *decus*—*nemus* should be confused both here and at 1641.

1833-4.

non est gemendus nec graui urgendus nece
uirtute quisquis abstulit fatis iter.

In 1833 the elided iambus is intolerable. See my note in *C.Q.* 1910, pp. 121-2, where this passage had escaped me. If we suppose an original

non est gemendus nec nece urgendus graui

it is easy to see how *nece*, lost after *nec*, could come to be placed at the end of the line. But *nece* is itself a corruption, as Peerlkamp saw, of *prece*, and we should write

non est gemendus nec prece urgendus graui.

1883-4.

flete Herculeos, Arcades, obitus
nondum Phoebe nascente genus.

Despite 186 (where, perhaps, *facite, o superi*) the metre of 1883 is not tolerable. In addition *Arcades nondum Phoebe nascente genus* is not Latin for "Ἀρκάδες προσέληνοι : a perfect participle passive is wanted with *genus*. Read

flete Herculeos obitus, natum
nondum Phoebe nascente genus.

Arcades is a mere gloss which has crept into the text.

1978-9.

fallor an uultus putat
uidisse natum ?

Perhaps *putem . . . nati* ?

II.

HERCVLES FVRENS.

83.

sublimis alias luna concipiat feras.

Mr. Hardie believes himself to have rediscovered the true explanation of this line. 'Recent editors' have, he thinks, forgotten that 'the Nemean Lion came from the moon.' No one would be likely to have forgotten it who had read Meineke's *Analecta* and knew Meineke's clever and certain correction μήνης (μνήμης *codd.*) παῖδα χάρωνα in *Fragm.* xlvii. of Euphorion. Most of the passages bearing on this legend are given in Meineke, pp. 80-87 (some of the references are false, however), and a few more are added by Mueller *Fragm. Hist.* ii. p. 30 b. (The legend is first found, perhaps, in Herodorus; for the verses of 'Epimenides' in Aelian *H.A.* 12. 7 are scarcely as old as Epimenides—or as Herodorus.) I would remark that the Nemean Lion was not the only fierce beast that came from the moon. The author of the *Laus Herculis* (Claudian, *Appendix*, Koch p. 297) derives thence also the Cretan Bull—*Taurus medio nam sidere lunae progenitus* (120). Herodorus held that vultures had their birth in the moon (Arist. *H.A.* 6. 5; 9. 12). And Lactantius Placidus on *Theb.* ii. 58 regards the moon as the birthplace of *all gigantic creatures*: *haec* (sc. *luna*) *autem omnia corpora maiora gignit utpote quae uicina sit caelo, poetae denique omnes asserunt Leonem de his polis ortum, quem Hercules prostravit.*

Lactantius' *utpote quae caelo uicina sit* gives us at once the point of Seneca's (?) *sublimis*. The coincidence is clearly not accidental for Herodorus *Fragm.* 9 (Mueller, *l.c.*) has γῆν ἄνω κηρύττουσι κατελλυθέναι τ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς λέοντα τὸν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους φονευθέντα (*quem Hercules prostravit* Lactantius); and again *Fragm.* 10 he says of his lunar vultures that they came ἀπό τινος ἐτέρας . . . μετεώρου γῆς.

For the process denoted by *concupiat* cf. Plut. *de Fluv.* 4.

Seneca's (?) *feras*=*leones* is a Graecism. *Fera*=θήρ, and ὁ λέων θῆρ κατ' ἐξοχὴν πάντων (*Schol. Arat.* 35, p. 348 Maass).

We have, then, explained 83. But it is one thing to explain the line and another to show its genuineness. Mr. Hardie seems to me to confuse these two processes. Because the legend of the Lion's lunar origin was more familiar in antiquity than it is to 'recent editors,' it does not follow, as Mr. Hardie seems to think, that it could not have been employed by an interpolator. I think this line an interpolation for the reason that it makes nonsense of the context in which it stands. At 77 Juno has said plainly *discedant ferae*—'let us have done with Nemean lions.' In 78 she says, 'Let us have done with Eurystheus too.' In 79-82 she says that she will employ worthier instruments—namely, the Titans imprisoned under Aetna. Observe now the effect of 83 which follows: 'Well, it must be Nemean lions again after all!' This is anti-climax with a vengeance. These Nemean lions look 'very like a

whale'; and it seems not unlikely that they have come from *Herc. Oet.* 1327 *ita nulla saeuas terra concipiat feras.*

It is worth noting that a whole family of MSS. (designated by Richter Ar) omits 83-89. Yet 83 undoubtedly stood in some ancestor of this family; for the omission is to be explained by the fact that 83 ends with *feras*, 90 with *ferox*.

353.

ars prima regni †posse inuidiam pati.

In a copy of Leo's edition of the Plays, which once belonged to Kiessling and contains a few MS. notes which I take to be in Kiessling's hand, I find *noscere* conjectured for *posse*. This is, I think, the true correction, and it is at any rate superior to any other suggestion. For this use of *noscere* compare *Herc. Oet.* 228, where the sentiment is somewhat similar

felix quisquis nouit famulum
regemque pati
uultusque suos uariare potest.

875-6.

Thebis laeta dies adest.
aras tangite supplices.

To cling to the altars in supplication is a queer way of passing a *laeta dies*.
Read in 876

aras tingite supplicis.

supplicis = *uictimis*: see 899 *caesisque meritas uictimis aras colam*. The form *supplicis* = *suppliciis* is found again at *Med.* 743, 1015, *Oed.* 944. Similar contractions are collected by Lachmann at *Lucr.* 5. 85. See also Friedrich, *Catullus*, 64, 287.

1072.

[Somne] pater o rerum, portus uitae.

Richter rightly rejects Wilamowitz's specious *pax errorum*. Sleep is the *beginning* and end of things. Out of sleep they came: and sleep is called the father of them. At *Lucan* IV. 190-191,

O rerum mixtique salus concordia mundi
et sacer orbis amor,

is not the true reading, on the analogy of this passage, *et pater orbis amor?* (At *Lucan* V. 73 N. (saec. IV.) has *pater* for *sacer*. *Avienus Arat.* 21 *pater A*: *sacer V¹ dett.*)

1119-20.

stipesque potens
duris oneret pectora nodis.

laceret Leo, for *oneret*. Rather *inaret*.

III.

TROADES.

627-629.

ite, ite celeres, fraude materna abditum
 hostem, Pelasgi nominis pestem ultimam,
 ubicunque latitat, erutam in medium date.

In 629 we should surely alter to *erutum*. *Pelasgi nominis pestem ultimam* is inserted merely parenthetically.

768-770.

genitricis o spes uana, cui demens ego
 laudes parentis bellicas, annos aui
 melius precabar.

770 *melius scripsi* : *medios codd.* : *demens Richter*. She was *demens* when she prayed that he might be a great warrior, but that he might grow old was a prayer that had more sense in it (*melius*).

999-1000.

sed en citato Pyrrhus accurrit gradu
 uultuque toruo.

malim toruos(-us).

1051-3.

Troia qua †iacet regione monstrans
 dicet, et longe digito notabit,
 'Ilium est illic.'

1051 *iacet* : *paret* Peiper : *flagrat* Richter. Read *lucet*.

1075-6.

haec nota quondam turris et muri decus
 nunc saeua cautes.

Leo writes *sola* for *saeua*, complaining that *saeua* is 'inepte additum epitheton' and '*Caucasi rupibus aptum*.' This is because he has not seen the meaning of *nunc*. The tower was once *muri decus*, but now, since it has slain *Astyanax*, it is *saeua*, 'murderous, bloody, full of blame.'

1169.

ubi hanc anilis expuam leti moram ?

No one seems to have conjectured *exuam*. *spiritum expuere Thyest.* 245 is not parallel, nor even *uitam expuere Herc. Oet.* 1469 (if that line be genuine). For *exuere moram* cf. Petr. § 122, 141-142 *exuit omnes quippe moras Caesar*.

IV.

PHOENISSAE.

365-6.

fecit scelus, sed misera non ultra suum

{	sceleri occurrit	}
{	scelus hoc cucurrit.	}

Read

felix, scelus si misera non ultra suum
sceleri occucurrit.

felix, as *felix Agaue* in 362. *si* : *siquidem*, εἴτερ.

V.

MEDEA.

112.

excute solemnem digitis marcentibus ignem.

Stattius *Silu.* i. 2. 5 seems to imitate this line—quatiuntque *nouena* |
lampade solemnem *thalamis coeuntibus* ignem. Is it possible that Statius then
wrote *palmis marcentibus*? For *marcentibus* in connection with hymeneals cf.
Dracontius Epithalamium 19 (*marcidus*).

135-6.

at nullum scelus

irata feci. saeuit infelix amor.

suasit for *saeuit* Peiper: *mouit* Leo. Perhaps *fecit*. Cf. Eur. *Rhesus*
939-940 σὺ τοῦτ' Ἀθήνη, — οὐδὲν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδ' ὁ Τυδέως πόκος ἔδρασ', —
ἔδρασας (ἔδρασε δράσας *codd.*).

740-743.

comprecor uulgu silentum uosque ferales deos
et chaos caecum atque opacam Ditis umbrosi domum
Tartari ripis ligatos squalidae Mortis specus
supplicis, animae, remissis currite ad thalamos nouos.

ligatos is commonly rendered by 'adjacent to': cf. L. & S. s.u. 'Confined
by,' 'bounded by' would be possible; so Statius *Silu.* iv. 3. 75 has *ligare* of the
channel which confines a river; but a cave 'bounded by' banks is meaningless.
Yet no suggested correction seems even plausible. I fancy that the key to a
true correction may be found at *Herc. Fur.* 664 sqq.

. . . densis ubi aequor *Taenarus* siluis premit:
hic ora soluit *Ditis inuisi* domus,
hiatque *rupes* alta et immenso *specu*
ingens uorago faucibus uastis patet.

It is difficult, with this passage before one, not to think that Seneca wrote at 742 *Taenari rupi ligatos squalidae mortis specus*, 'the caverns of squalid death that are locked by the rock of Taenarus.'

921-922.

quidquid ex illo, tuum est,
Creusa, peperit.

peperi *scripsi*: peperit *codd.* 'Whatsoever child I bore him belongs to you, Creusa.' cf. 924. *liberi quondam mei*.

VI.

PHAEDRA.

276.

impotens flammis simul et sagittis.

Read *impetens*.

497-8.

nec trabes multo insolens
suffulcit auro.

suffulcit scripsi: sufficit, *E* suffigit *A.* So *effulcire* at Stat. *Theb.* i. 144-6:

et nondum crasso laquearia fulua metallo
montibus aut alte Graeis *effulta* nitebant
atria.

989B-990.

sed quid citato nuntius portat gradu
rigatque maestis lugubrem uultum genis?

Leo alters *portat* to *properat*, and since he is followed in this by Richter it seems worth while to adduce *Oct.* 778-9:

sed quis gressu ruit attonito
aut quid *portat* pectore anhelo?

and *Herc. Oct.* 740-1.

natum pauentem cerno et ardenti pede
gressus ferentem. prome quid *portes* noui.

portare is similarly used for *reportare*, *narrare*, at Stat. *Theb.* 3. 236. *portans* immania Tydeus ausa.

VII.

OEDIPVS.

1-2.

iam nocte Titan dubius expulsa redit
et nube maestum squalida exoritur iubar.

exoritur is a blunder for *exerit*, and no other change is needed.

341.

iuuena ferro semet imposito induit.

Read *ferro iuuenus* : cf. 300 and 335. (Leo's *depressam* at 300 leaves the difficulty of *taurorum* in 335 untouched.)

508.

altaque caeruleum dum Nerea nesciet Arctos.

malim utraque.

VIII.

AGAMEMNON.

659.

cohibete lacrimas omne quas tempus petet.

Perhaps omne quis tempus patet. Cf. *Med.* 422-3 non queror tempus breue: multum patebit.

759-60.

instant sorores squalidae,
sanguinea iactant uerbera.

Heinsius' *anguinea* is surely right. Cf. *Thyest.* 96, *Med.* 961.

IX.

THYESTES.

110-111.

†palleſcit omnis arbor ac nudus ſtetit
fugiente pomo ramus.†

The last two words represent, I fancy, *ponto remus*. But the first three seem past healing. *aescit omne marmor* might do.

423-4.

quid, anime, pendes, quidue conſilium diu
tam facile torques?

conſilium diu is not Latin for 'a plan long entertained,' though editors ſeem content with it. Read *conſultum diu*, as *bene cogitata* 490, *iam placita Troad.* 246.

815-820.

ſtupet Eoos
aſſueta deo tradere frenos
genetrix primae roſcida lucis
peruerſa ſui limina regni:
neſcit feſſos
tinguere currus nec fumantes
ſudore iubas mergere ponto.

The last three lines suggest that in 818 *limina* is a blunder for *munera* (= *mun'a*) 'duties,' 'functions.'

X.

OCTAVIA.

85.

uince obsequio placata uirum

placata seems inapposite. Read *placaque*.

853.

abstrahere nostris coniugem	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fata} \\ \text{caram} \\ \text{tantam} \end{array} \right\}$	toris.
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N's *fata* points perhaps to *fetam*.

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THE FIRST SCENE OF THE *SUPPLIANTS* OF AESCHYLUS.

To explain the meaning of the *Prometheus* the late Dr. Walter Headlam quoted the famous lines from the *Agamemnon* :

‘Sing praise ; ’Tis he hath guided, say,
Man’s feet in Wisdom’s way,
Stablishing fast for learning’s rule
That Suffering be her school. . . .’

‘This,’ he said, ‘is the school in which Prometheus himself is being gradually taught the wise humility ; at present he is still in the rebellious stage. And it is with this idea that Io is introduced into the *Prometheus Bound* ; she, too, is an example of the seeming cruelty of Zeus ; but it is a blessing in disguise, for she is to be the mother of the blessed Epaphus, and it is a son of Zeus by Alcmena, a descendant of her own, that is to set Prometheus free.’

That sentence suggested the present paper. For the artistic and religious meaning of the *Suppliants* becomes clear only when, with the thought of Wisdom’s school in our minds, we read the words of the chorus (ll. 103 sqq.) :

‘From towering Hope’s ambitious height
Down to Perdition’s blackest pit
He hurls the aspiring thoughts of Man,
Yet stirs not, yet exerts no force :
Calm in his will’s enabled might
His throned imaginations sit,
And see the World’s harmonious Plan
Move onward in its ordered course.’

The keynote of the trilogy to which the *Suppliants* belonged was, in fact, this same central doctrine of the *Prometheus* and the *Oresteia*, the will of Zeus which brings harmony out of chaos, good out of apparently unmeaning suffering.

Whether the *Suppliants* be the second, or as is now generally and, I believe, rightly supposed the first part of a trilogy, it is admitted that in the sequel the daughters of Danaus (probably through the defeat of the Argives) fall into the hands of their cousins, marry them, and at the command of Danaus kill them on the marriage night ; that Hypermnestra, *una de multis face*

nuptiali digna, spares her husband, is tried before an Argive court for her act of loyal disobedience, and is acquitted through the intervention of Aphrodite. But the importance of this sequel for the interpretation of the *Suppliants* is not perhaps always clearly understood.

If our account of the sequel is true, it follows that Hypermnestra is the heroine of the trilogy. In the *Suppliants* she is in no way distinguished from the rest of her family; she is simply one of the fifty daughters of Danaus. Her presence in the chorus is, however, not unimportant for the understanding of the play. Though she is not yet differentiated, though she does not yet speak and act for herself, still for the audience she is the heroine whose story is being presented: for them the company of Suppliant girls is significant because one of the Suppliants is above all the rest famous for her deeds and glorified in her offspring. We also must remember her; for we shall not understand the first act of the trilogy unless we remember the central person and the main idea of the whole.

It may be said that Orestes, whose killing of his mother is the central theme of the *Oresteia*, has no place in the *Agamemnon*. Yet even that is not wholly true. The chorus speak of the avenger who will some day come. Their proclamation of the doctrine of divine retribution points not only to Paris, Priam, Troy, not only to Agamemnon, but also to Clytaemnestra, and through her to Orestes. Their hints of the terrible powers that ruled the world before Zeus point to the conflict of the *Eumenides*. Above all, when we read the *Agamemnon* in connection with the *Choephoroe*, we find that Clytaemnestra is elaborately contrasted with Orestes, who is, we must not forget, traditionally the most important figure of the legend. She kills for her own ends, rejoicing: Orestes kills for duty's sake, reluctantly, not even, at the supreme crisis, without some tenderness for his mother. She kills with Agamemnon the priestess of Apollo: Orestes is the minister of the god. Through the palace gates through which she entices her husband, Orestes drives her in to death. Where she stood in triumph, heaping insult on the dead, Orestes stands to justify his deed. Clytaemnestra herself, then, would be less significant, did not Orestes serve as her foil. Thus even the *Agamemnon*, great as it is, requires its sequel. For the *Suppliants*, I believe, the sequel and the central figure of the sequel were even more important.

Hypermnestra was probably not a romantic heroine, in love with her so strangely wedded husband. 'I never put on the stage a woman in love,' says the Aristophanic Aeschylus in a boast which we are of course at liberty to reject. What matters for us is the motive assigned to Hypermnestra by Prometheus (891): 'One wife will spare her husband: the edge of her purpose will be blunted: she will be spell-bound by *desire of offspring*: she will choose the name of coward, not of murderess, and in Argos shall be the mother of a Royal Race'—

μίαν δὲ παίδων ἕμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ
κτείνειν σύνευνον, ἀλλ' ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται

γνώμην, δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον βουλήσεται,
κλύειν ἀναλκίς μᾶλλον ἢ μαιφόνος·
αὕτη κατ' Ἄργος βασιλικὸν τέξει γένος.

That this was also the motive of the Hypermnestra of our trilogy is established by the one important fragment of the *Danaids* which we possess. 'Even the venerable Aeschylus in his *Danaids*,' says Athenaeus,¹ 'introduces Aphrodite in person, and makes her say:

"The pure Heaven hath desire to wed the Earth,
And the Earth is full of the desire of Him.
His rain showers from Heaven and the womb of Earth
Is quickened; so the Mother brings forth food
For the cattle, and Demeter's bread for men.
Yes, and the rain is a charm to bring young trees
To perfect growth.—All these are my effects."

The goddess who speaks, like the Venus Genetrix of Lucretius, is not the mistress of passion, but the power through which the world from generation to generation renews its life. Hypermnestra whom she thus defends is celebrated, not as a love-sick maiden, but as the reverend mother of the modern Argos, the heroic ancestress of Perseus and Heracles,² constrained by an apparent cruelty of fate—mercy in the guise of violence—to become the worshipped foundress of a Royal House, and, what is more important, of a prosperous city.

Now we can see how, though she nowhere speaks in person, the *Suppliants* is illuminated by the thought of her. We think at once of the two occasions (in the first chorus and the last) when the Suppliant maidens fall into two groups, the one confidently affirming that the will of Zeus is against the marriage, the other vague, though not less firm in their faith, observing the moderation in speech and prayer which befits mortals when they touch on the mysterious designs of God. We think also of the hymn to Aphrodite, which sounds to us so strange after the passionate appeals to the virgin Artemis. But it is not to these particular incidents that I wish to draw attention. The thought of Hypermnestra pervades and colours the whole work. The recurrent invocation of Io is dramatically significant, not only because Io is the ancestress of the Suppliants and the justification of their claim to Argive help, but also because Io is the prototype of Hypermnestra.

Consider now some modern estimates of this drama. Schlegel, J. H. Schmidt, Bernhardt, K. O. Müller, agreed in deploring its lack of dramatic action, and argued, from their different points of view, that a play so devoid of movement either must have been or could not possibly have been the second part of a trilogy. Welcker indeed came to the rescue with a subtle defence of the character-drawing, and an illuminating exposition of the relation of the *Suppliants* to the rest of the trilogy. But even Welcker, when he came to the charge of 'die geringe dramatische Handlung und den Mangel an Spannung,'

¹ XIII. 600B.

² See a significant passage in Pausanias X. 10. 5.

was content with the remark that 'der Stoff wie er ist einer besseren Gestaltung als dieser im Aeschylischen Styl mir gar nicht fähig scheint.' To most critics, in fact, there seems to be no dramatic interest until the arrival of the Argive king, and very little before the entrance of the herald.

To Croiset, for instance, this tragedy 'made up of complaints and prayers and hesitations and threats, without complication or unforeseen events, seems from the modern point of view hardly to fulfil the conditions of theatrical art.' Paley, as usual, gives a mild approval: 'On the whole,' he says, 'it is rather a good play; and though it has obtained a bad name among scholars on the score of its many corruptions, yet there is a grace and a dignity in the choruses, and a general tenderness, virtue, and artlessness in the characters, that impart a very pleasing tone to the whole composition.' Professor Murray expresses the same idea in language equally characteristic: 'A most quaint and beautiful work, like one of those archaic statues which stand with limbs stiff and countenance smiling and stony.' Finally Professor Tucker, in asserting, I do not doubt correctly, that the chorus may well have been fifty in number, says that the effect must have been spectacular, and so suited 'to the comparatively inartistic nature of the early drama.' The phrase is of course culled from Aristotle, but its meaning becomes clearer when we further read that 'there is no thrilling action in the piece,' that it would have fallen flat as a drama but for the *Menschengeschwimmel*. Again, in his protest against the pedantry which describes the last two hundred and forty lines of the piece as the *exodos*, Professor Tucker speaks of 'the arrival of the Egyptian herald, the attempted seizure of the Danaids, the return of the king, and the herald's dismissal' as comprising 'almost all the real action of the play.' It is pedantic, as Professor Tucker says, to describe so exciting a scene as an *exodos*, but we must be prepared to admit that the earlier dramas of Aeschylus were, indeed, 'inartistic,' if we can find hardly any real action before the last episode of the piece. It is on the chorus, as all these critics have said, that the poetical value of the piece depends, and it is also the chorus, not simply or mainly the dialogue, that provides the dramatic, as well as the poetical, effect. The drama, not simply the lyrical poetry, begins with the first procession of the chorus into the Orchestra.

What, then, is the dramatic point of the first two hundred lines, of the long lyrics and brief dialogue which precede the arrival of the Argive king? If we think of the plot as presenting, in the words of Mr. Murray, 'an appeal for protection to Pelasgus, king of Argos, who refers the question to the Demos,' there is no drama till the king appears. Simply we are introduced to the chorus, we learn their situation, and we have the pleasure of listening to some exquisite lyrics. But to the ancient audience, I believe, the first episode was as dramatic as the rest. Dr. Jevons, in discussing this play, observed that 'the action of a story may be said to consist of the attempt of a central figure to do something, and of the opposition encountered by, and the consequences following on, this effort.' We may accept this as a rough definition, good

enough for our present purpose. In this sense there is dramatic action in the first scene not less than in the final confronting of chorus, herald and king to which Dr. Jevons referred. The drama of the first scene is for us obscured because we do not share the religious beliefs of the Suppliants and of Athenians. If we did, we should see at once that the first necessity of the chorus is to marshal all possible unseen forces on their side: when the Argive king appears they have already won more than half their battle, for they have secured Zeus and the gods of Argos as their allies. This they do partly by the modest bearing which is pleasing to the gods, and partly by prayer.

But when we say that the chorus gain their divine allies by prayer, we admit that their utterance is not merely poetry but also drama. Even in the twentieth century of the Christian era prayer is not always and by all devout persons conceived as the expression, helpful to the worshipper, of spiritual aspiration. Even for modern spectators a praying chorus would not be wholly undramatic; for in spite of all theorizing a modern audience has still an effectual belief in what Plato called *ἡ τῶν θεῶν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων παραγωγή*. Plato, indeed, used this expression with regard to the attempts of guilty men to 'square the gods'; but superstitious persons, and many persons who are not, as men go, superstitious, pray in general as *τοὺς θεοὺς πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν*. If that is the case to-day, still more was it the case in the time of Aeschylus. Prayer is always hovering on the borderland of magic, and the more clearly it is conceived as a working on, a persuading of the god, the more dramatic becomes its theatrical representation.

In the first scene, then, the Suppliants strive with Zeus, as later they strive with Pelasgus, literally compelling Him to come to their aid. Their words (and, no doubt, their actions) are deliberately calculated to influence the god. Their first words *Zeὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ*, 'Zeus Petitioner,' the *Suppliant God*, not simply the *God of Suppliants*, give a hint, though it is no more than a hint, of the significance of the whole ceremony. As a maiden prays to Artemis as the Maiden,¹ a huntsman to Apollo as a hunter, a thief to Hermes as a thief, so in general a worshipper assimilates the god to himself in order that he may be sympathetic and likely to hear the prayer. I do not, of course, mean to suggest that the idea of fastening their own name of Suppliant upon the god is present to the minds of the chorus when they address him as *ἀφίκτωρ*. My point is rather that the ease with which the same word can be used to denote either the Suppliant or the god illustrates something in the pagan frame of mind, and something which is important for the interpretation of the drama. Gods are made in the image of man, and are therefore the more susceptible to human persuasion. Conversely, let us now add, men try to make themselves like the god or like something that the god loves, in order that the god may be inclined to give them favourable attention. Therefore throughout this drama the daughters of Danaus, persistently and with the deliberate intention of

¹ See Headlam on Aesch. *Sup.* 160 in C.R. Vol. XVI., p. 52, 1902.

working on the feelings of Zeus, identify themselves with Io, towards whom Zeus has peculiar obligations.

This claim upon Zeus which the Suppliants are able to establish through their self-identification with their ancestress Io is one great reason why 'the play is full of the supreme godhead of Zeus,' though, of course, it is a relevant fact that 'in a drama of Suppliants,' as Professor Tucker observes, 'this prominence is especially natural, and in any case it is a marked feature of Aeschylean theology.' Read the first sentences of the opening procession in a translation, and then read them in the Greek; it will appear at once how important it is to be quite clear on this matter. Professor Tucker writes: 'Zeus, the Suppliant's God, look kindly on our company, which took ship from the dunes of finest sand that edge the mouths of Nile. Though we have quit the land of Zeus, whose pastures blend with Syria, yet is our exile no outlawry for deed of blood,' etc. But what they say is *Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφρόνως . . . Δῖαν δὲ λιποῦσαι χθόνα*, Zeus look with grace upon us . . . *for the land we have left is the land of Zeus.* That is the first point they make, the first link in the magic chain with which they bind the god. Even Dr. Headlam does not represent the order of the Greek words in his prose translation. Not only is this opening dramatic; the rhetoric [*Ζεὺς μὲν . . . Δάναος δέ*] becomes symmetrical if we observe the order of the words: 'Zeus favour us,' they sing, 'because we come from a land that is His,' and then 'Danaus bade us come to Argos, because from Argos we are sprung.'

That brings us at once to Argive Io, with whom the Suppliants identify themselves first by the simple fact of their origin from her. But they can make their identification with her more potent than their simple claim as her children. They are exiles: so was she. When they speak of their voyage they recall to Zeus the wanderings of Io. They are confronted with the prospect of a marriage which they loathe: Io suffered because she was loved by Zeus. Every reference to their own bridal is a reference to that of Io: every word of Io's deliverance is in effect a fresh compelling of Zeus to deliver Io's children. I need hardly insist on the supreme importance, not only poetically but also in the drama, of the recurrent theme of the birth of Epaphus. Zeus delivered Io, so that she bore Epaphus, son of the touch, by the laying on of hands, the touch of the physician, *ἡπίους χερσὶν ἐφαπτόμενος*, a technical use of the word for which see the learned treatise of Ernest Maass. Not only in this opening chorus, but throughout the tragedy, this recurrent motive of Zeus the physician, of his hands that touch to heal, of cures and drugs and medicinal spells, is one of the binding elements in the dramatic symphony. Similarly the inbreathing of the spirit of the god provides a theme dramatic as well as poetical. It is to constrain the god, not simply for the sake of a poetical variation of phrase, that the Suppliants pray, 'May Zeus receive us—not *αἰδοίως*—with the treatment due to Suppliants—but *αἰδοίῳ πνεύματι χώρας*, 'with a wafting of compassion from the land.' So for themselves they invoke

Zeus Ourios; and the sons of Aegyptus they devote to storms and contrary winds.

As the incantation proceeds, rhythm and gesture become more and more excited: they tear their Sidonian veils, not because they are seized by a panic fear, but because their increased emotion means increase of potency. Their strange cry, 'ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν· καρβάν' αὐδὰν εἶ, γὰ, κοννεῖς,' is part of the spell they weave. Professor Tucker says that 'the εὐακοννεῖς of M, as emended to εἶ, γὰ, κοννεῖς, is an assertion very flat and scarcely warrantable,' and accordingly he emends—with what palaeographical plausibility I dare not discuss—to something which might perhaps mean what he desires it to mean, 'excuse my foreign accent.' καρβάνῃ δ' ἄν αὐδᾷ σύν, γὰ, γνοίης. Dr. Headlam accepted εἶ, γὰ, κοννεῖς, and translated 'I implore the grace of hilly Apia (the outlandish utterance well, O land, thou kennest) . . .' adding a note on 'utterance': 'Speech or expression, meaning the epithet βοῦνιν,' which he infers is a local Argive word. He adds the evidence of its use by Dorians—e.g. at Cyrene, Corinth, and elsewhere. Still I cannot but think that the assertion 'the outlandish utterance well, O land, thou kennest,' is, indeed, rather flat if there is nothing more pointed in the context than a rare word meaning 'hilly,' or, as Professor Tucker thinks, a piece of barbarous pronunciation. But listen to the words again: ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν. Whatever the word means in correct and etymological circles, Ἀπίαν in this context and for the Aeschylean audience means one thing above all else—the land of Apis-Epaphus, the son of the healing touch (ἥπιος). Similarly βοῦνιν represents for the audience not 'hilly,' nor a rare Doric word, but simply 'Land of the Cow,' the land of Io. As Paley said: 'It was usual on entering a foreign land to invoke it, with the elements and the θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι, to be propitious.' By propitiating the Argive land under the names of Ἀπίαν and βοῦνιν, the Suppliants establish a claim, and constrain the gods, particularly Zeus, to help them. When this strange cry is uttered the supplication of the maidens has passed completely into the sphere of magic. It is because their utterance is a spell, a magical incantation, that the chorus describes it as 'outlandish.' Similarly in the *Persae* (638), when Darius is being summoned from the grave, the elders describe their incantation as βάρβαρα σαφηνῇ . . . δύσθροα βάγματα, words whose meaning was explained by Dr. Headlam in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVI., p. 57, February, 1902. The potency of the appeal to the Argive land as the land of Io and her son is reinforced at line 169 by a fresh appeal to Zeus and a further self-identification of the Suppliants with their ancestress: 'Ah Zeus, 'tis through ire against Io that vengeance pursueth us from above! I ken thy Consort's heaven-subduing spite! for 'tis from a rough gale a stormy sea arises.' When this the last of the half-magical refrains is reached, the chorus have already established their claim upon Zeus as the lover of Io: they can now effectively drive home their last unanswerable threat—namely, that if the Olympians fail them they will kill themselves and descend to 'that nether Zeus, that most hospitable Zeus of the departed.' 'And shall

not Zeus be convicted, then, by just arguments of neglecting the Cow's offspring that himself begat of old, if now he hold his face averted at our prayer?'

The exhortation of the sententious, rather self-important Danaus to a modest bearing is again dramatic in that it advances the action by making the supplication even more effectual. So does every sentence of the litany that follows. Divine aid thus secured the time has come for human allies to be won, and the king of the Argive country appears.

At this point we may notice that this development of the action from the securing of Zeus to the propitiation of all the Olympians, and then from divine aid to human alliance, has something like a parallel in the *Prometheus*. The relevance and importance of Io in that drama as a human victim of the violence of Zeus and as the symbol of the ultimate reconciliation has been often noticed. But it is not always clearly stated how artistic, how carefully prepared, is the moment of her appearance in the action. The suffering Titan, who has been silent under the taunts of Kratos and the pity of Hephaestus, is left alone, deserted by gods and men, on the mountain-side. When at length he breaks his silence, it is to utter his wonderful appeal to the powers of earth and sea and sky. The coming of the Ocean-Nymphs is poetically the response of nature to his cry. The dramatic effect of their songs is first of all that we are made to feel that all Nature is suffering in sympathy with the god. The natural powers having thus been brought into relation with the hero, mankind is introduced into the action: the chorus sing of the weakness of men and of their ineffectual mourning for their saviour. Then, and not till then, comes Io, the representative of the human race, the mortal woman who is to bear a child from whom the deliverer will come. Now as in the *Prometheus* we pass from the sympathy of nature to the sympathy of mankind, so in the *Suppliants* we pass from the marshalling and compulsion of the unseen powers to the compelling of mortal aid.

In motives and treatment there is a certain similarity between the scene of the constraining of Zeus and that of the persuading of the Argive king. All Suppliants have a certain right to consideration: that right the king admits, though he observes that the appearance of the Suppliants is foreign, as is also their strange daring in landing on a foreign coast without the security given by heralds, patrons and guides. But the maidens have a special claim on Argos, and this is the same as their claim on Zeus—their descent from Io and Epaphus: by means of that story they establish at once their Argive origin and their right to Argive protection. But the king hesitates to shed the blood of citizens in war for women, even though they be children of Io. So in a moment of intense excitement for an audience which believed in blood-pollution, the Suppliants threaten to kill themselves at the altar. Thus the final compulsion which they put upon the king is precisely parallel to the last constraint which they put upon Zeus.

But it is to the beginning of this scene that I wish to draw attention. The

king is attended by such pomp that there can be no doubt in the mind of the spectator as to his identity. Yet the chorus ask him whether they shall address him as commoner, or herald, or king, simply in order that he may have a plausible excuse for making a speech. His rhesis is often treated as if it were somewhat irrelevant. It has been said, for example, that 'Aeschylus is teaching the Athenians a historical and geographical lesson.' Though the word lesson has unfortunate associations, it is quite true that Aeschylus and his audience loved rhetoric, and geographical rhetoric, for its own sake. But it is also true that as a rule the rhetoric is so contrived as to contribute to the dramatic effect. In the first part of his harangue the king announces that he is the son of Palaechthon, the earth-born, that his name Pelasgus gives the name Pelasgian to his people, and finally that his territory includes a wider tract of country than the historical Argolis. What is the point of all that? In the first place, it makes the appeal of the Suppliants to the king as representative of his country far more impressive to Athenian hearers, because it makes the king as Pelasgus, son of Palaechthon, stand for the oldest inhabitants of Greece: the appeal is therefore to the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians, as autochthonous, thought themselves descended. In the second place, the wide extent of his territory makes the king stand for more than a narrow Argive interest: the appeal is to Greece and civilization against barbarism. We remember, also, that as Pelasgus is the last king of the old civilization, so Hypermnestra, one of these women whose barbaric aspect so astonishes him, is destined, as the audience are aware, to be the foundress of the modern Argos, the mother of a new line of Argive kings. Finally, whereas Zeus, the object of the action in the first scene, needed for a pious audience no poet's art to make his unseen presence felt as significant, Pelasgus, until he has named himself and has made the importance of his royal person evident by words, is, for the audience, in spite of the visible majesty of his presence, no more than an ordinary king. His speech about his kingdom is necessary if the scene is to escape bathos after the highly-dramatic invocation of Zeus. As for the latter part of the oration, in which Pelasgus speaks of the origin of the name of the Apian land, and tells how 'Apis leech and seer came from Naupactus on the further shore, and purged the land of deadly monsters . . . by surgery and spell,' it is not only a poetical contribution to the symphony of Apis-Epaphus, the son of the healing touch, but also a fine piece of drama. The audience knows, though the king does not, that these Suppliants are the children of another Argive Apis-Epaphus, and they realize, though the king does not, that by these words the king is binding himself, as it were, in advance, to listen favourably to the plea of the Suppliants. We may notice that the Suppliants, like Apis, came to Argos across the sea, and that in the sequel they, when their claim as daughters of Io and Epaphus has been admitted, threaten by their suicide to bring upon the country just such 'plagues sent up by Earth on pollution through deeds of blood,' as were purged by the ancient Apis 'leech and seer.'

I will not further analyze this scene, though there are many phrases which gain new significance if we remember that the spoken word is not merely ominous but also powerful to affect events. In line 355, for example, the chorus compare themselves to a wolf-chased heifer, 'on precipitous rocks, where having found security she lows, telling the herdsman of her trouble.' The expression is deliberately chosen in order to maintain the identification with Io and the mystic heifer whom she bore. Nor have I anything to add as to the rest of the drama, which, except where the text is hopelessly corrupt, explains itself. I will only remark that while the king is pleading their cause before his people, the Suppliants are again invoking Zeus, by the same means as before, but with fresh and beautiful treatment of the old motives.¹ The return of Danaus with the announcement (630) that the Argives have voted their aid, 'It was the persuasive voice of the pleader that they heard, but it was Zeus who brought the issue to accomplishment' (the word *ἐπικραίνειν* is significant throughout the play), is thus a dramatic fulfilment of prayer.

The beautiful litany for the prosperity of Argos which follows this announcement is apparently without effect. For in the sequel it is probable that Argos sustains a defeat. Yet God moves indeed by paths which wind beyond mortal discerning. In Hypermnestra's children, through that very defeat, Argos is in fact to be renewed and blessed.

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¹ Notice incidentally (remembering the surprise of Pelasgus at the appearance of the Suppliants 240 sqq., 283 sqq., and the fears of Danaus on that score 504 sqq.) that in 574 sqq.

βροτοὶ δ' οἱ γὰρ τότε ἦσαν ἐννομοὶ χλωρῷ δέματι θυμὸν πάλλοντ' . . . the chorus have still in mind their identification with Io.

ON THE *IURATIO ITALIAE* OF 32 B.C.

'*IURAVIT* in mea uerba tota Italia sponte sua et me belli quo uici ad Actium ducem depoposcit.'¹ In these words the Emperor Augustus clearly meant to suggest that the war in which he got rid of Mark Antony was none of his making, but was imposed upon him by the free and self-determined action of the Italian nation. Modern historians have unanimously refused to regard Augustus as a passive instrument in the hands of the Roman people at large; yet they have generally accepted his account of the oath-taking of 32 B.C. as the outcome of a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm in his behalf, which they interpret as the reflex result of the nation's resentment against Antony's un-Roman and treasonable behaviour.² Mommsen³ and Ferrero⁴ alone appear to have entertained any doubts as to the literal truthfulness of the Emperor's narrative.

It is to be feared that the deference herein shown to Augustus is out of place. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* in which his official autobiography is contained stands convicted of some glaring misrepresentations respecting his early career,⁵ and for the period of the Civil Wars its unsupported testimony should never be accepted as conclusive. In the present case the version of events given in the *Monumentum* is altogether unique, for no other ancient document records any widespread manifestation of loyalty to the future Emperor so long as the issue of the struggle against Antony hung in the balance. It is noteworthy that neither the patriot poets of Augustus' reign nor even so zealous a panegyrist as Velleius Paterculus should have made any allusion to the *iuratio*, which was obviously the best of all testimonies to their hero's popularity.⁶ On the other hand, indications are not lacking that public opinion in Italy was extremely slow to pronounce itself definitely against Antony, and that it viewed the forthcoming struggle with the same misgivings

¹ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ch. 25.

² Ihne, *Römische Geschichte*, VIII. p. 366; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I. p. 127; Gardthausen, *Augustus*, I. p. 364; Kromayer, *Die rechtliche Begründung des Principats*, p. 15.

³ *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I³. pp. 696-7.

⁴ *Greatness and Decline of Rome* (Engl. transl.), IV. p. 84 and n.

⁵ An assertion in ch. 3, 'uictor omnibus superstitibus ciuibus peperci,' is directly refuted by Suetonius, *Diuus Augustus*, chs. 13, 15, 17, 27. In ch. 1, 'rem publicam factione paucorum

oppressam in libertatem uindicaui' is a highly deceptive way of describing the establishment of the triumvirate.

⁶ The nearest corroborative statement is found in Cassius Dio, 50. 4. §§ 1-3; but here it is merely related that public opinion eventually became incensed against Antony, which is very far from saying that Italy took the initiative in calling Octavian to arms.

The panegyrics showered upon Octavian *after* Actium cannot be safely quoted as evidence for the previous state of feeling in Italy.

which it entertained at the outbreak of the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey.¹ Moreover, the prejudice in Antony's favour which still lingered on in Italy was being stimulated all the while by lavish distributions of money from Alexandria, which compelled Octavian to take special precautions in order to minimise their effect.²

An interesting sidelight is cast upon the general state of feeling in Italy in the latter half of 32 B.C. by the half-measure to which Octavian found himself reduced when he declared war upon Cleopatra, but not upon Antony. This expedient can only be interpreted with Ferrero³ as showing that Octavian did not yet feel sure of his ground. Had public opinion been seriously entertaining the thought that Antony was guilty of high treason to Rome, Octavian need never have hesitated to have his rival declared a *hostis*. Such a sentence had not infrequently been passed on traitors in times not long past, and Antony himself had once before been put under a ban at the instance of Cicero. There should thus have been no difficulty in getting the sentence against Antony renewed. Moreover, such a measure would have been highly profitable to Octavian. For when once Antony had been proclaimed a *hostis*, he would *ipso facto* have ceased to be a *civis*, and Octavian's chief cause of anxiety, the risk of incurring odium as the author of a new civil war, would have been removed once and for all. If Octavian none the less dared not take official action against Antony, the reason must be that public sentiment in Italy was not yet prepared to support Octavian unreservedly. But a still more powerful piece of evidence is afforded by the sequel to the *iuratio*. When Octavian proceeded to test the loyalty of the Italians by imposing war-taxes, rioting broke out on such a scale as to place the country for a while at Antony's mercy.⁴ And the spirit of mistrust which continued to exist between Octavian and his countrymen is shown by the care which he took during the campaign of Actium to keep the whole body of senators directly under his eye. As this measure was adopted to prevent any senator fomenting a new revolt in Italy during Octavian's absence,⁵ it is clear that even in 31 B.C. disaffection against Octavian must still have been widespread.

There remains a further difficulty. Suppose that Italy was indeed unanimous in its feeling of loyalty: by what process could it have translated its sentiment into action? It stands to reason that such uniform action as is

¹ The spirit in which the incriminating stories of Antony's un-Roman conduct were received in Rome is well illustrated in Velleius Paterculus (II. 83. 3), Cassius Dio (50. 2. §§ 3-6), and Plutarch (*Antonius*, ch. 57 *fin.*, 59 *init.*). Particular significance attaches to the memorable sitting of the Senate on January 1, 32, in which the consuls all but carried a motion against Octavian (Cassius Dio, *loc. cit.*), and to the apparently misplaced pity which the Romans felt for Antony on hearing how he had divorced Octavia (Plutarch, ch. 57 *fin.*).

Ferrero aptly quotes Horace's striking appeal to the triumvirs, 'quo, quo scelesti ruitis?'

(*Epode* 7), which may safely be attributed to the period 32-31 B.C.

² Cassius Dio 50. 7. 3; 9. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 85. Cassius Dio (50. 4. § 3) suggests that Octavian did not outlaw Antony for fear he should thereby ruin many deserving Romans who happened at the time to be in Antony's camp; but he refutes himself by going on to relate that the case of Antony's friends was met by means of a special decree which promised indemnity to deserters from his side.

⁴ Plutarch, *Antonius*, ch. 58 *init.*; Cassius Dio 50. 10, §§ 3-4.

⁵ Cassius Dio, 50. 11, § 5.

implied by a national *iuratio* was organized beforehand, for no one will believe in an infinity of coincidences which led all the 400 odd communities of Italy¹ to take the selfsame oath by an independent inspiration. But in the absence of a press and all other means of rapid communication the mere process of exchanging news and opinions in preparation for a concerted oath-taking would have required an enormous amount of time, and it is unlikely that the scheme could have been carried out during the brief period in which Octavian still hesitated before the open outbreak of hostilities.² Besides, the *municipia* of Italy had for centuries been deprived of all initiative in matters of national policy, and had been rigorously forbidden to combine for purposes of common political action. Thus it becomes hard to explain how they ever so much as considered or discussed a universal *iuratio* without first receiving instructions from a higher authority.

If the above arguments have any force, Augustus' version of the *iuratio* cannot be accepted as it stands. On the other hand, there is no need to adopt Mommsen's desperate expedient of explaining away the statement in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* as a lie pure and simple.³ A direct falsehood on such a colossal scale could too readily have been refuted by the thousands of Italians who survived from the epoch of Actium to the publication of the *Monumentum's* text, and were bound at least to remember whether they had or had not taken the oath of allegiance to Octavian.

The mere fact of the *iuratio* having taken place is therefore not open to dispute. But it can only have been 'spontaneous' in the sense which Ferrero shrewdly reads into the paragraph of the *Monumentum*: the swearing-in was 'not by order,' in that there was no legal authorisation for it; yet the Italians did not take the oath of their own free will, but at the direct instance of Octavian. The *iuratio* thus conceived was a *coup d'état* by which Octavian, with the help of his army, sought to coerce Italy into military allegiance, notwithstanding that the requisite *imperium*⁴ had not been conferred upon him through the usual channels.

According to this explanation Octavian's action is placed in quite a different light from that in which the Emperor himself would fain have presented it. But there is direct evidence in support of the more sinister view. If the people of Bononia, as Suetonius informs us,⁵ were specially exempted by Octavian from the oath, this can only mean that he made it incumbent upon Italy in general. And a still more damning piece of information is contained in Cassius Dio, who narrates that Octavian's army had partly

¹ The number given by Pliny on the authority of Augustus is 430 (*Hist. Nat.* III. § 46 sqq.).

² The federation of discontented Italians which caused the outbreak of the Social War of 91-88 B.C. seems to have dispatched business with fair rapidity. But the area covered by the insurgents was far less than the *tota Italia* of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

Loc. cit.

⁴ If Octavian could be conceived after the lapse of the triumvirate as retaining the proconsular *imperium* inherent in his triumviral powers so long as he received no successor to take charge of his army and himself remained outside the *pomerium*, this *imperium* had been forfeited by his entry into Rome in the early part of 32 B.C. (Kromayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9.)

⁵ *Diuis Augustus*, ch. 17.

been mustered *by force of threats*.¹ Moreover, the above hypothesis will alone serve to explain the miraculous promptness and unanimity with which Italy fell into line; and it saves the credit of the paragraph in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, as against Mommsen's interpretation, by converting it from a clumsy falsehood into an adroit one.

Should Ferrero's theory as to the nature of the *iuratio* be accepted, a new question arises as to the date of the event. If the process was a voluntary one, it can only have taken place in the latter part of 32 B.C., for previous to the divorce of Octavia and the divulgence of Antony's will in midsummer of that year² the feelings of Italy can hardly have been wound up sufficiently for a spontaneous national uprising.

Ferrero adheres to the traditional version in so far as he supposes that Octavian dared not execute his *coup* until the revelations contained in Antony's will had helped to prejudice public opinion in his rival's favour. He therefore relegates the *iuratio* to the end of July. But this conservatism in his chronology exposes him to several difficulties.

Firstly, in the summer of 32 B.C. Octavian was undisputed master of Rome, and had complete control of the machinery of legislation. In such a case why did he not obtain his right of levying troops by an empowering act of the normal type? At the time when he seized the consulship and triumviral prerogatives Octavian had been careful to carry out his usurpation under legal forms, although he stood to gain little or nothing by such constitutional scruples. At the outset of the campaign against Antony it was obviously in Octavian's interest to have the fullest possible show of right on his side. Assuredly, then, he would not have prejudiced his case by an act which was tantamount to high treason, but would have armed himself in a straightforward manner with a senatorial decree and a law of the *Comitia*. Ferrero is accordingly driven to assume that Octavian could not find sufficient senators to make a recommendation or sufficient magistrates to formulate a bill.³ But this he cannot do without grossly exaggerating the stampede which Octavian caused among Antony's adherents by his entry into Rome in the early part of the year. So long as Octavian had a single tribune at his disposal he was at perfect liberty to submit to the *Comitia* any measure which might serve his purpose; and so far as our knowledge goes there was no special dearth of magistrates in Rome during the summer of 32 B.C., for there is no direct evidence that any officials had relinquished their posts except only the two consuls.⁴ As regards the Senate, Ferrero himself in another passage⁵ admits that no less than seven hundred stayed on in Rome. Such numbers as these might surely be described as a *senatus frequens*, and if they did not constitute a quorum it is hard to see how the Senate could ever do business of any sort. It appears, therefore, that Ferrero has quite failed to dispose of the objection advanced against him.

¹ 50. 3, § 4.

² For the dating, see Kromayer, *Hermes*, 33, pp. 44-5

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 79 and 84 n.

⁴ Cassius Di. 50. 2, § 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 7 n.

Secondly, one may wonder why Octavian should have held his hand during all the early part of the year, or should at most have undertaken an educational propaganda¹ to prepare public opinion for the coming *coup d'état*. In view of the preparations for war which Antony had been pushing energetically for some time past,² Octavian had everything to gain by hastening the issue. At the beginning of the year he had thrown constitutional scruples to the winds by his forcible purging of the Senate. Was he likely after this to show any pedantic respect for the rights and liberties of the Italians at large? By stumping the country he could at most hope to palliate, but never to efface, the illegality of the *iuratio*. But neither the prospect of so slight a gain nor yet a belated fit of mere nervousness can seriously be thought to have paralyzed Octavian's resolve in the face of the ever-growing danger of an attack by Antony.

Lastly, the taxation riots which followed upon the *iuratio* cannot, on Ferrero's hypothesis, have taken place before August or September of the year 32. But in the autumn of that year Antony had arrived within striking distance of Italy, and actually prepared for an immediate attack on the very ground that Octavian might still be having his hands tied by the unsettled condition of the country.³ If Italy at this crisis was still seething with discontent against Octavian, can it be doubted that Antony would have pressed home his onset? Yet after a slight reconnaissance he tamely abandoned his enterprise, as though the prospects of a surprise landing were too poor to be worth taking into account. This failure on Antony's part can only mean that the commotion in Italy had spent its strength, and that the *iuratio* was already an event of the remoter past. But in this case it is difficult to assign to the *iuratio* so late a date as July of 32 B.C.

It appears, therefore, that the date of the *iuratio* must be thrown back into the earlier part of the year, and accommodated, if possible, into the period previous to Octavian's entry into Rome. These conditions can be fulfilled readily enough if the *iuratio* is amalgamated with Octavian's *coup d'état* in the capital as part of one and the same movement. According to this theory, Octavian's first reply to the hostile motion brought forward in the Senate on New Year's Day of 32 B.C. was the *iuratio*, by which he endeavoured to reduce Italy to obedience; next, after having overawed the country and secured such such sinews of war as it could still find for him, he entered Rome for the less important purpose of seizing the machinery of government.

This version of events avoids all the difficulties which stand in the way of Ferrero's chronology. It explains Octavian's recourse to extra-legal action, for previous to his irruption into the capital he lacked the means of securing his power by a *Lex* or *Senatus consultum*. It makes Octavian's policy appear less strangely inconsistent; and it allows sufficient time to elapse between the upheaval of Italy by the taxation riots and the arrival of Antony's fleet in the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

² Cassius Dio, 50. 9, §§ 2-3.

³ Kromayer, *Hermes*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 28-30.

Adriatic. It has the further advantage of simplifying the course of affairs in 32 B.C. by combining two separate revolutions into one; and it explains all the better the helter-skelter flight of Antony's adherents, who need not have given up the game in Italy as completely lost until the country as well as the city had been effectually dragooned by Octavian. Lastly, it helps to account for the reticence of ancient writers on the subject of the *iuratio*: its close proximity to the *coup d'état* in the capital caused it to be eclipsed by that more dramatic episode.

It may be objected that on this hypothesis too little time is allowed for the preparation of the *iuratio* by Octavian. But the revolution in Rome was not carried out until some time after the memorable sitting of the Senate on January 1,¹ and there is no need to suppose that it took place until February. On this reckoning Octavian would have had all the leisure he needed in order to devise and carry out his scheme of coercion.

Again, it may be asked why Octavian after his early show of vigour remained apparently inactive for all the rest of the year 32 B.C. A sufficient answer can be found in the disaffected condition of the country, which appears to have delayed the completion of Octavian's mobilisation long enough to prevent his getting off the mark within the same year.² Regard must also be had to the temper of his troops, who had refused on several previous occasions to take the field on his behalf against Antony,³ and may have been too untrustworthy for Octavian to lead into the field until the campaigning season of 32 B.C. was past.

There remains a final difficulty. There is no evidence that Octavian's position was legitimised until he assumed a consulship at the commencement of 31 B.C. The negative evidence of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* on this point is of great consequence, and may perhaps be regarded as decisive. But why did Octavian forbear throughout the year 32 to place his power upon a legal basis? The answer to this question is not apparent. But the difficulty remains the same, whatever may be the exact interpretation which we put upon the *iuratio*. Whether this process was a voluntary one or not, whether it occurred in the early or the middle part of the year, it was at all events not sanctioned by law. Octavian's failure to legalise the *iuratio* thus remains inexplicable according to every theory which has hitherto been put forward.

In view of the fragmentary nature of the evidence it is perhaps a hopeless task to endeavour to explain the *iuratio* in all its bearings; but it may be contended that the conventional interpretation of it is unsatisfactory, and that some new theory, such as the one outlined above, must be set in its place.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

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¹ Cassius Dio, 50. 2, §§ 4-5.

² Cassius Dio, 50. 10, § 3, implies that the agitation had not *entirely* died down even in 31 B.C.

³ In 43 B.C. (after Mutina) and in 40 B.C. (at the siege of Brundisium).

THEOPHRASTVS DE PIETATE.

IACOBVS BERNAYS uir sagacissimus, exposuit¹ in Porphyrii de abstinentia libris exstare excerpta ex Theophrasti de pietate libro satis magna, quae antea partim inscientia, partim neglegentia uirorum doctorum erant neglecta. Ad haec fragmenta coniecturas quasdam profero, usus Nauckii editione altera (prodiit in bibliotheca Teubneriana anno 1886).

p. 117, l. 22 : ἐγένετο ἂν καθ'.

p. 118, l. 3 : ἐδουλώθημεν ἂν τῷ τοῦ φόβου *.

Loco quem asterisco significauī, codices Monacenses exhibent φρονήματι, Lipsiensis νήματι; Reiske coniecit μιάσ-
ματι (quam coniecturam omisit Nauck), Bernays παθή-
ματι, quod sensum praebet optimum, sed facilius codicis
Lipsiensis νήματι secuti emendamus π ή μα τι.

p. 118, l. 7 : ὀλίγων corruptum.

p. 135, l. 6 : ἐφ' ἐστίας Eusebius P.E.I., p. 28 C (p. 34, l. 10 Dind.)
praebet, quod neglexit Nauck.

p. 138, l. 12 : Pone καθό Bernays inseruit γάρ, sed cum hic locus sit
excerptus et ita quidem, ut sint omissae magnae partes,
cauendum est, ne a Porphyrio poscamus, quod a Theo-
phrasto impetraremus. Aliis locis Bernays ipse hoc
pressit (cf. pp. 25, 57, 58).—Ceterum hunc locum defen-
dunt etiam Eusebii codices.

p. 139, l. 23 : et p. 141, l. 1 uerba κατὰ μέρος sana sunt, cf. Theophrast.
de igne ed. Gercke (Greifswald 1896) p. 3, l. 18.
Defendit uterque hic locus etiam Xenophontis Exposit.
Cyri. V. cap. 1 § 9, quem nouissimus quoque editor, uir
cautus diligentissimusque, nimirum Gemoll (editio maior,
Lipsiae 1909) uncis secludendum putabat.

p. 141, l. 6 : τὸ θυσίων codices, τὸ τῶν θυσίων Bernays, sufficit τῶν
θυσίων.

p. 142, ll. 16-17 : Bernaysii coniectura εἰ θύομεν deest in Nauckii editione.

p. 143, l. 11 : Inserendum conicio μέν pone συνάγουσι.

¹ 'Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmig-
keit: Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte. Mit
kritischen und erklärenden Bemerkungen zu

Porphyrios' Schrift über Enthaltensamkeit, von J.
Bernays, Berlin 1866.'

- p. 151, l. 7 : Bernaysii coniecturam ἀρρήτοισι omisit Nauck.
p. 154, l. 9 : Verbum ἥ delet Bernays, quod non adnotauit Nauck.
p. 154, l. 24 : Pone ἀπολαύσεις quaedam Theophrastea uidetur omisisse Porphyrius.
p. 158, ll. 25-26 : Pro ἀρπάξαντα conicio ἀρπάσαντα.
p. 160, ll. 11-12 : τὸν εἰρημένον conicio.
p. 221, l. 5-6 : Scribendum est, ni fallor, διὰ δνοῖν θάτερον.

THS. OTTO ACHELIS.

THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

IT might reasonably be argued that this question is one of those historical problems which form excellent subjects for the writing of essays, but which are far too complex to admit of a decisive answer, and consequently are much better left alone. No one man is responsible for a war between great powers, and the motives which influence the vast number of people, whose consent is necessary, can rarely, if ever, be identical. It is therefore comparatively easy to argue against any given motive which is asserted to be the one and only reason. Certainly the writer would make no effort to rake up the ashes of this controversy, were it not that in Dr. Grundy's recent work on Thucydides a new and ingenious theory is put forward concerning the *vera causa* of the Peloponnesian War.

The whole of Dr. Grundy's valuable publication is coloured by his theory that the acquisition of the means of subsistence was the root-principle of the policy of Greek States, a theory which there is no room here to examine in detail. In so far as it applies to the Peloponnesian War, it may be stated thus: Athens was compelled to interfere in the north-west, owing to the necessity of opening out new sources of corn-supply and of providing for her unemployed. The Peloponnese was bound to resist any such project, firstly, because Corinth did not want to see her trade ruined; secondly, because the inland communities were afraid of a blockade and the loss of their imported corn; and, thirdly, because the allies were able to bring pressure upon Sparta.

In Dr. Grundy, then, another critic is raised up in judgment upon Thucydides. The prevalent English opinion on this point is well illustrated in the favourable reception of Mr. Cornford's book, in the general tendency of most Oxford lecturers on the subject, and in the new articles on the Peloponnesian War and on Greek History in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Thucydides' judgment of a purely imperial cause is generally rejected, and the secret of the outbreak is found in the relations of Athens and Corinth rather than of Athens and Sparta. Professor Bury's defence of Thucydides in his Harvard Lectures is almost the only recent presentation of the other point of view.

It is, then, perhaps excusable for some champion, however unworthy, to make another stand on behalf of the deliberate judgment of Thucydides.¹

¹ I. 23.

Διότι δ' ἔλυσαν (τὰς σπονδὰς) τὰς αἰτίας προύγραφα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν· αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγομέναι αἰτίαι αἰδ' ἦσαν ἐκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν. . . . and so to a discussion of the 'incidents' of Epidamnus and Potidaea.

Fortunately his meaning is perfectly plain. The αἰτίαι, or rather the λεγομέναι αἰτίαι ἀφ' ὧν the truce was broken, were αἶδε, *i.e.*, Epidamnus and Potidaea, but the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις ἀφανεστάτη δὲ λόγῳ was the fear inspired in the Spartans by the growth of the Athenian power.

The rejection of his deliberate judgment on the cause of the war would probably not have pained Thucydides so much as the salves applied by the critics to his injured reputation. 'Thucydides is quite wrong,' implies Mr. Cornford, 'but you must not blame him because he is writing drama rather than history.' 'Thucydides is wrong,' says Dr. Grundy,¹ 'but excusably so, since he is writing after the end of the war, when the original causes have been obscured by the new developments which arose very soon after the war began.' And here we might very well raise the point, 'What is the value of your commercial or economic *vera causa*, if it had effect only for the first three or four years of the war, while you admit that the question of political supremacy was paramount for the rest of a twenty-seven year struggle? Surely that question of supremacy must have lain hid (ἀφανεστάτη δὲ λόγῳ) all the time.'

But, if the war arose for commercial or economic reasons, all this defence of Thucydides' reasoning is very thin whitewash. It is not once only that he gives his opinion, but at least six times² in the first book. Certainly Thucydides, as Dr. Grundy's book illustrates, is now beginning to meet the fate of Homer. The *χωρίζοντες* have got him firmly in their grip, and doubtless it is easy to prove that all these passages belong to later redactions. But, for all that, Thucydides must stand or fall by his own judgments, and if, writing soon after the end of the war, he stated over and over again as his convinced opinion that the cause of the war was the imperial jealousy of Athens and Sparta and nothing else, then if we refuse to believe him, we must admit that he has made about as grave a blunder as he could make. He wrote his history from contemporary notes,³ and he must have written down some motive as the cause in 431. He can find no excuse in forgetting the events of 431, for he had his diary. His judgment is a considered judgment, written perhaps after 404, but written after full deliberation and with complete knowledge of all the facts, and his credit as a historian must rest upon it.

Here we meet with a more insidious objection.⁴ Thucydides may have been writing not to combat any view of commercial or economic rivalry

¹ Grundy, *Thucydides*, pp. 412, 413.

² I. 23, 33, 44, 86, 88, 118.

³ I. 1.

⁴ Cornford, *Thuc. Mythistoricus*, p. 30.

between Corinth and Athens, but simply to answer the accusation of Aristophanes and contemporary gossip, that Pericles brought on the war for his own advantage and for personal reasons. Commercial causes, it is agreed, were not separated from political in ancient times, and the imperial struggle between Sparta and Athens would be held to cover the commercial jealousy of Athens and Corinth. But whether the Piraeus traders drove Pericles to war, or whether his motive was the necessity of feeding and employing the unemployed, in neither case can we give Thucydides much credit for discernment in attributing the outbreak to Spartan fear of Athenian expansion. And again, if it was Athenian aggression in the north-west arising out of Attico-Corinthian rivalry that caused the war, it is a bad blunder on Thucydides' part to speak of Spartan fear of Athens as the real cause, and thereby to imply that the true aggression came from the Peloponnese.

It is impossible really to confuse the issue or to effect a compromise. Either Thucydides is wrong or his modern English critics are mistaken, and perhaps a brief re-examination of the problem will be permitted in the hope of throwing a little new light on the question.

The main arguments brought against Thucydides are the following :

1. Why should Sparta be driven to war from fear of Attic expansion in 431, when Athens was really much weaker than she had been a quarter of a century before ?¹

2. The rivalry between Athens and Corinth was far greater than that between Athens and Sparta.²

3. Corinth had most to gain from the declaration of war, and Sparta practically nothing.³

4. Sparta showed great reluctance to fight at all, and in the early years of the war little energy or initiative.⁴

5. Heavy pressure was brought to bear upon Sparta by the inland Peloponnesian states in fear for their food-supply.⁵

6. Corinth forced Sparta to fight by threats of secession.⁶

The attack is formidable, and can be countered only by a careful examination of party politics in Sparta.

Not enough attention has been paid to the fact that at any rate after 550 we have clear evidence of two main parties in Sparta. About that year Sparta came to a very grave turning-point in her policy. Hitherto an absorbing and conquering state, which had amalgamated all Laconia, Messenia, Cynuria, and Southern Arcadia, she was induced by the resistance of Tegea to exchange her policy of conquest for one of alliance and hegemony. Tegea was the first member of the Peloponnesian League. The change is contempo-

¹ Grundy, pp. 323, 408, 409.

² Cornford, chs. 3 and 4; *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. xxi., p. 72.

³ Cornford, p. 10; Grundy, pp. 323 sqq.; *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. xxi., p. 72.

⁴ Cornford, pp. 7 and 8; Grundy, pp. 326 sqq.

⁵ Grundy, pp. 324 sqq.

⁶ *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. xxi., p. 72; Grundy, p. 410.

aneous with two other important developments. Spartan art, hitherto a luxurious and flourishing plant, stops abruptly as the Lycurgan ἀγωγή is reintroduced with great severity, and the power of the ephors is established on a firmer and more predominant basis. It is impossible to avoid connecting these three contemporaneous events with a single line of policy—that of the great ephor Cheilon.¹ The reintroduction of the ἀγωγή, with the consequently greater exclusiveness of Sparta, and greater emphasis on the democratic character of the régime; the probable initiation of the Thalamæ cult² in the interest of the ephors, as opposed to the royal monopoly of Delphi; the abandonment of conquest, partly no doubt already owing to questions of population, but mainly because conquest tended to aggrandize the kings; and, finally, the known increase of the ephors' power at this time—all show clearly that 550 marks the rising of the ephorate to power as an equipoise to the kings, and the beginning of that division of interests between ephors and kings, that was to become a commonplace of Spartan politics.

The reign of Cleomenes shows the two parties in full opposition, and also throws a light on the unscrupulousness of the ephors. When Cleomenes desires to attack Athens in 506, they combine with Demaratus³ and the Corinthians to restrain him; when he spares Argos, they attack him for his want of energy; when he consults for pan-Hellenic unity by taking hostages from Aegina, they again raise up an antagonist in the shape of Demaratus; and when he finally intrigues for the overthrow of their power with the Arcadians and helots, they accuse him of treachery and procure his ruin. Thus their policy is not constructive but destructive, anti-royal rather than anti-imperialist.

Exactly the same attacks are made on Pausanias. He is accused of medism—a ridiculous charge that led to an acquittal, and his humiliation at the hands of the allies is willingly accepted in Sparta. He, too, is driven by constant opposition into a plot to overthrow not Sparta but the incubus on the Spartan constitution, and is driven to exile and death. Leonidas is abandoned at Thermopylae, and throughout the Persian wars Sparta takes an indecisive line, not because of treachery to the Greek cause, but because of the party

¹ Herod. i. 59; Diog. Laert. i. 68: *Χελων πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παραξενύοναι.*

² Cheilon, as we can tell from the data given by Herodotus, was a contemporary of Epimenides the Cretan, who, according to the *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, purified Athens about 594. Now Epimenides did something also in Sparta, for we find in the Spartan agora a building attributed to him (Paus. iii. 12. 11). As a professional authority on doctrinal matters his action is bound to have been of a religious nature, and it may well be that he was concerned in originating the cult of the Cretan Pasiphae at Thalamæ, which has such an unexplained importance in Spartan ceremonial (Paus. iv. 26. 1; Cic. *de Div.* i. 43, 96). This cult is closely connected with the ephors,

who made use of a dream-oracle in the temple, and is definitely anti-royal, since the goddess of Thalamæ was to be consulted on the deposition of the kings. It seems highly probable that Cheilon and Epimenides effected this reform in common, knowing that it would be an impressive counterblast to the prevailing royal influence at Delphi.

³ Herodotus does not mention the part played by the ephors either at Eleusis or Aegina, but it is usually concluded from the well-known hatred of the ephors both for Cleomenes and Leotychidas, that they acted in concert with Demaratus, also the bitter foe of the other kings. It has been held that the ἀρχή held by Demaratus after his deposition (Herod. vi. 67) was the ephorate.

struggles between kings and ephors. For the ephors were not always supreme. Cleomenes frequently got his own way, and in 494 was acquitted on trial. Pausanias also was acquitted on trial, and in 478, in spite of the withdrawal of Leotychidas from the war in the preceding year, he induced the assembly to put him at the head of a fleet, and led the Greek forces to victory in Cyprus and Byzantium.

Thus we may legitimately assume the existence of two parties in Sparta from 520 to 478, a royal progressive imperial party, anxious for conquest, for hegemony, and even tampering with ideas of emancipation, along with an anti-royal party, headed by the ephors, ready to be inconsistent as long as it got its way, and violently opposed to any ideas of emancipation or relaxation of the strict democratic Lycurgan regime.

Even after the fall of Pausanias the imperialist party in Sparta continued to have power. Diodorus¹ recounts how the reception of the news of the repudiation of Spartan hegemony led to anger and demands for war with Athens, and from that moment an anti-Athenian party came into existence. The ephors who hailed the humiliation of Pausanias with delight were forced in their own defence to preach the doctrine of dual hegemony. They were willing to sacrifice empire to their political exigencies, and to accept an equality of Athens by sea and Sparta by land. Thus in 477, when the war-party was crying for armed intervention to prevent the fortification of Athens, the ephors permitted themselves to be hoodwinked by Themistocles; but later, finding in that statesman an ally or correspondent of Pausanias, they joined in the hue and cry that drove him into Persia. A little later we find Spartan aid promised to Thasos in 465,² and an Attic invasion projected for the following year. But a curious *volte-face* has taken place, for it is the ephors who must have made the promise in Sparta's name, and consequently the ephors who are now identified with the war-party.

This sudden change of front is in no way surprising when we remember that the ephors had no constructive but only an anti-royal policy, proved by their unscrupulous struggle with Cleomenes and Pausanias. The warlike Agiadae were no longer predominant. In 468 Archidamus the Eurypontid succeeded Leotychidas, and both as the elder and the far more capable monarch became the representative of Spartan royalty for the next forty years. Archidamus was consistently for peace. He refused³ to lead the expedition in 457 and 445, and he preached peace in 431. Consequently the ephors were bound to become imperialists, and they effected the change with great celerity. In 462 it was Archidamus, Cimon's friend, who summoned him to Sparta's help at Ithome. The party which drove him out with contumely in the following year and threw down the gauntlet to Athens can only have been that of the ephors. It was the ephors who punished Pleistoanax in 445 for not destroying

¹ XI. 50.

² Thuc. I. 101.

³ The expedition to Tanagra was led by Nicomedes in place of Pleistoanax; the expedition to Eleusis by Pleistoanax himself. The absence

of Archidamus in both cases can only have been due to his own refusal, especially in 457, when it was clearly his duty during the minority of his colleague (Thuc. I. 107).

Athens, and Sthenelaidas, the ephor, who insisted on war in 431. But Archidamus, who spoke against war in 431, who refused to hold command in 457 and 445, must have been the cause of the rejection of the Lesbian proposals a little before the war and the Persian proposals in 456.

We have dealt at some length with the events of the Pentecontaetia, because it is essential to this question to be perfectly clear on the point that there were two parties in Sparta, a war-party and a peace-party, whose power varied according as Archidamus or one of the ephors was the most persuasive and influential politician of the year.

The ephors were supreme in 465, Archidamus in 462, the ephors in 461, the ephors in 457, Archidamus in 456, the ephors in 446, Archidamus in 440, Archidamus a little before the war,¹ but the ephors in 432-1.

With this fact ever before our eyes we can turn to the objections brought against the theory of Thucydides.

1. Why should Sparta be driven to war in 431 from fear of Attic expansion, when Athens was really far weaker than she had been from 460 to 450?

It is true that Athens was weaker in 431 than she had been in 460, but this argument is not an adequate statement of the facts. For, in the first place, the Athenian expansion of the sixties had actually driven Sparta to war. Few would deny that the war which broke out in 461 was due to Spartan fear of Attic expansion, and that war went on until more by Athenian disasters than by Spartan valour it came to a successful end in 445. Sparta, in the shape of the ephors, did not desire the annihilation of Athens, but her strict adherence to the *status quo* of 477, to the dual hegemony, and to a purely maritime empire. Attic expansion in the sixties had made her fear that the balance of power was threatened. The peace of 445 fulfilled, or nearly fulfilled, Spartan desires, and forced a re-acceptance of the *status quo*.

But if Athens was weaker in 431 than she had been in 460, she was far stronger than she had been in 445. Since the peace she had repaired her treasury and fleet, had put down all disaffection in her league, and was on the point of stretching out her arms to Sicily. The *status quo* was threatened again in 431 very much as it had been in 461, and the expansion of 445 to 435 was analogous to that of 477 to 461.

At this point it may be advisable to consider the question of Potidaea, since it has been held that its important position in the pages of Thucydides is hardly justified, and that his inclusion of it as an important factor in the outbreak of the war is unsatisfactory.²

When Thucydides speaks of *αἰτίαι* and *διαφοραί*, he calls Potidaea and Epidamnus *αἰτίαι*, and considers the smaller grievances, the Megarian decree,

¹ Not only was the Lesbian proposal of revolt rejected, but Sparta intervened or tried to intervene with Sicyon between Corinth and Corcyra.

This must have been due to fear of war and desire to prevent it.

² Grundy, p. 372.

the treatment of Aegina, etc., as *διαφοραί*. Potidaea was subsequent to Corcyra, and therefore not so immediately important from the point of view of the imperial relations of Athens and Sparta, but it is fitly included among the proximate causes of the war, since the treatment of Potidaea must have influenced the votes of many of the smaller Greek states. It was a violent interference with the natural Greek right of autonomy, and whether in its execution it displayed Athenian weakness or strength, in its conception it showed clearly the autocratic and individualistic character of Athenian rule. It may not have impelled Sparta to war as much as the Corcyrean affair did, but it operated far more powerfully on the minor states of the Peloponnesian league, and caused the further exasperation of Corinth.

2. Attico-Corinthian rivalry was greater than Attico-Spartan.

So far from this being true, an anti-Athenian party had existed, as we have seen, in Sparta since 480, and had been since 468 identified with the ephors. It had already brought about war with Athens once, and only Archidamus and the frail bulwark of the Thirty Years' Peace were restraining it. Once let Athens break the letter of the agreement, and the war-party would be supreme. To this is due the importance of the academic question in the Corinthian and Corcyrean debate, as to whether a defensive alliance with Corcyra would break the truce or not, unimportant surely except for its effect on Sparta.

As for Attico-Corinthian rivalry, its bitterness dates from after, not before, the Corcyrean alliance. Herodotus gives quite a false picture of the relations of Athens and Corinth at the time of the Persian wars, and himself elsewhere admits that they were friendly.¹ There had been war in 459, because Athens threatened the north-west trade, but the arrangements of 445 had been satisfactory, and so far from showing rancour, Corinth had stood up for Athens as recently as 440. Corinthian jealousy of Athens dates from the renewal of Attic projects in the west—*i.e.*, from 434—and was neither of long-standing or in the least hereditary. Thus it was not the case that Attic jealousy of Corinthian commerce forced Pericles' hand in the matter; on the contrary, we shall have to admit that that jealousy only arose out of Pericles' action.

3. Corinth had more to gain from the war than Sparta, who could gain nothing from it.

No one can deny that after the alliance of Athens and Corcyra war was a matter of supreme importance to Corinth, but to say that Sparta had nothing to gain from it is to judge from after events. The Spartans, as Thucydides shows, had every hope of success in the war. They did not realize their own powerlessness, and they thought a few years' invasion would reduce Athens to

¹ Herod v. 92 (about 506 B.C.); vi. 89 (shortly before Marathon). The Corinthian speech in the first book of Thucydides shows (chs. 40 and 41)

that hitherto Corinth and Athens had been on good terms. The enmity referred to is still in the future.

terms. Moreover, the object of the war from their point of view was not so much to gain anything definite as to check Attic expansion. The Attic-Corcyrean alliance meant :

- A. Practically an Athenian corner in ships.
- B. A death-blow to Corinthian trade.
- C. The ultimate extension of Attic influence over Italy and Sicily.

A. was comparatively unimportant by itself, but B. was of supreme importance to Sparta, for if Corinthian trade was ruined, the only financial resource of the Peloponnesian league would be removed. With Athens predominant over Corinth, or even only possessed of her western trade, the funds and the fleet of the Peloponnesian League would be reduced to nil, and Sparta half crippled before the war began. C. If Athens were to be allowed to control the west as she controlled the east, the Peloponnese would be isolated. A part of her corn-supply, all her ship-building wood, and many sources of commerce would be in Attic hands, and, most important of all, the Attic monopoly of trade would make her so wealthy, so influential, and so strong, that Sparta would be defeated before a blow was struck. These were the imperial and political reasons that made the Corcyrean question of such vital importance to Sparta from the very first.

4. Sparta showed great reluctance to fight at all and little energy in the first years of the war.

We have already seen the most important reason for this reluctance in the condition of Spartan parties. Archidamus and the peace party were a strong brake on the wheel of the imperialist policy, and only the cumulative effects of Corcyra, Potidaea, and Megara were able to overcome their resistance. Moreover, Sparta was bound to wait a little to see developments. The alliance with Corcyra was not a formal breach of the peace, and Sparta was scrupulous in such matters. Only after the affairs of Potidaea and Megara were Athenian intentions perfectly clear. The operations were all in the north-west, because that was the important, and in fact the essential, spot. If Athens could be driven out of the north-west, all would be well. The Corinthians believed in direct attack, and after some hesitation the Spartans followed them, but not with enthusiasm, because Sparta had only one strategy for war, and believed in no other. Invasion with the ravaging of crops was the one Spartan military method, and the unexpected indifference of Athens to this form of warfare paralyzed the Spartan War Office from the first. It took them some years to devise some other plan of attack. As to the frequent efforts to bring the war to an end and to offer terms, it must always be remembered that Sparta was fighting for the restitution of the *status quo*, and if she could get that, she would much sooner stop the war, which was expensive both in money and men. Her imperialists, like Lysander, were still in the schoolroom.

5. The next argument is the especial discovery of Dr. Grundy, that Corinth persuaded the smaller states to vote for war because their corn-supply was threatened.

The reply to this argument is that it goes too far. Dr. Grundy has overestimated the population of the Peloponnese. It is impossible in a short space to deal at all fully with Dr. Grundy's figures, but one may perhaps be permitted to question very strongly the principles put forward in his note on p. 213 of his book. He suggests there that if the whole cultivable area of Greece were cultivated at the present day, imported corn would be unnecessary. A larger area was cultivable in ancient times, and a great amount of imported corn was necessary. Therefore, he concludes, the ancient population was much larger than the modern. But does this follow?

In the first place, although doubtless the *cultivable* area is smaller now than in antiquity, it is very dubious if the *cultivated* area is smaller. Although the towns of modern Greece are smaller than those of ancient Hellas, there are probably far more villages at the present day, and therefore a greater part of the country is within reach. The blessings of peace, which mean not only that you do not lose your crops through war, but that you can cultivate lands much farther away from your settlement, must have affected the cultivated area, and if, as Dr. Grundy argues rather unfortunately in another place (p. 91), it paid the ancient Greek better to grow something else and to get his corn from abroad, we have still further reason for reducing the land under corn in antiquity. Moreover, rotation of crops and the introduction of Indian corn have revolutionized the possibilities of agriculture, and it is therefore impossible to base any figures of population on the very dubious comparison between the area cultivated in ancient and modern times. On any reasonable estimate of the population—*e.g.*, of Laconia—there can be no doubt that the ancient population was smaller than the modern. The decisive figure is the 35,000 helots sent to Plataea. They were sent not to fight but to be out of the way of mischief while Sparta was empty. They represent, then, the greater part of the able-bodied helot population. In that case there cannot have been more than 200,000 helots, who with 80,000 perioeci, and certainly not more than 30,000 Spartiates, fail to equal the 350,000 modern inhabitants of the same area.

With a smaller population, we have no reason to consider the problem of food-supply acute in the Peloponnese. The quotation from Herodotus¹ in regard to the corn-ships of 480 refers to Aegina and the Peloponnese—*i.e.* to the neighbouring part of Peloponnese, the barren Acte from Corinth to Troezen. Most of Argolis is, in fact, an indifferent country for crops. But neither Aegina nor Argolis was concerned in the matter of an Athenian blockade. Achaea, Elis, Arcadia, Laconia, and Messenia have ample cultivable land, and even if on Dr. Grundy's theory it had been found more profitable as

¹ VII. 147.

a rule to substitute vines and olives for corn, yet a corn-crop only takes a year to grow, and if the danger of blockade were imminent, corn could speedily be grown all over Peloponnese. But Dr. Grundy overestimates the possibilities of blockade. The history of the war itself is sufficient to show that an Athenian blockade of Peloponnese was impossible. The theory that the Peloponnesians gravely proposed to import corn overland from a point north of Corcyra, through modern Albania and Aetolia to Oeniadae, and thence by sea to Cyllene is hardly credible. Not only would it be impossible physically and financially to import corn on mule-back through a wild stretch of barren country, but the Athenian privateers from Naupactus and Cephallenia would have stopped it at the end of its long journey. Doubtless a possible rise in corn may have contributed to the annoyance of the smaller Peloponnesian states, but it was the hard political facts of Megara and Potidaea and not an economic theory that united them. It was autonomy, not food, for which Greece was fighting.

There is a tendency to-day among historians to give far too much weight to commercial or economic motives in dealing with ancient states. Such motives are rarely mentioned by ancient writers, and naturally so, because even if subsidiary, they were never ἀληθέσταται προφάσεις, simply because they were not understood by the mass of the people. Even in Athens, the political influence of the Piraeus traders cannot have been as great as Mr. Cornford would have us believe, and the idea that Sparta could be persuaded to fight for the commerce of Corinth or the corn-supply of Arcadia is preposterous.

6. The answer to this argument, and the final explanation of the cause of the war by the critics of Thucydides, is that Corinth threatened to secede to Argos if Sparta would not fight, and so Sparta was driven into action.

History does not bear out the view that Sparta's hand could be forced in this way. Neither the Corinthian war nor the Mantinean campaign suggests that Argos and Corinth could ever have made a united stand against Sparta. Argos was a far more dangerous ally to Corinth than Sparta could ever be, and for good or evil the fate of the two latter was bound up together. It is the imperial danger, not the economic, that the Corinthian advocates harp upon. The Corinthian speech is that of impassioned pleaders because their interests were bound up with the war, but there is no trace in the speech of Sthenelaidas that the threat of secession has made the slightest impression, or was, in fact, anything more than a rhetorical flourish.

Our conclusion, then, on the whole matter is that the criticism of Thucydides has failed, and that his ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις still holds. The position of affairs after 440 was an enriched and growing Athens on the one side, watched on the other by a jealous Sparta with a war-party always on the *qui vive*.

To this powder-magazine comes the spark of the Corintho-Corcyrean difference. What was Pericles to do? He had not yet begun to save for war, because he did not anticipate it so soon, though he knew, as all Greece

did, that it was inevitable in the end. If he let Corcyra go, he was losing 200 ships (Corcyra would never have fought Corinth without Attic help), and he would have lost his bridge to the west. If he accepted, he made war certain, as soon as Sparta realized the position; but he would have his bridge to the west, and he thought Athens was impregnable. She was to be on the defensive throughout, and Sparta was at last to admit that she could do nothing. Then the Peloponnesian League would break up, as it had done in 473 and 464, and as it actually did in 421. Athens would be left mistress of the Greek world.

This explains Pericles' acceptance of the alliance. Sparta's hesitation for a year or two is easily understood. The truce was not yet technically broken, and she did not yet know what use Athens was going to make of her position. Potidaea and Megara showed that. The treatment of Potidaea was essential to guard against a weak spot in Athens' armour; the treatment of Megara was a warning to the world that while Sparta was helpless, Athens could deal with Spartan allies as she liked. And so, with the Athenian cards on the table, Archidamus had to give way, and πολλῶ πλείους voted for war in the Spartan assembly because they saw that the Corcyrean alliance was building for Athens a bridge to the treasures of the west. The *status quo* was altered, and Potidaea and Megara showed them how Athens intended to use her supremacy. Sparta had fought in 461 because Athens was growing too powerful. She found that the snake was scotched, not killed, and that the Corcyrean alliance would mean beginning the work of destruction all over again. The imperial importance of this alliance was recognized in Sparta from the first. The peace party vainly tried to patch up a compromise before the war by intervening at Corinth, and at the last moment Archidamus tried to stem the tide of popular passion; but no one who reads the account of the debate in Sparta can fail to see that the overwhelming feeling of the audience was in favour of war not against the commercial foe of Corinth, who might secede from the League, but against the imperial menace of Athens, which was threatening to isolate the Peloponnese. 'Our aim in Sicily,' said Alcibiades later,¹ 'is τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ . . . ἐπιχειρήσειν, κομίσαντες ξύμπασαν μὲν τὴν ἐκείθεν προσγενομένην δύναμιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πολλοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους μισθωσάμενοι καὶ Ἰβηρας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεί ὁμολογουμένως νῦν βαρβάρων μαχιμωτάτους, τριήρεις τε πρὸς ταῖς ἡμετέραις πολλὰς ναυπηγησάμενοι, ἐχούσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ξύλα ἄφθονα, αἷς τὴν Πελοπόννησον πέριξ πολιορκούντες καὶ τῷ πέζῳ ἅμα ἐκ γῆς ἐφορμαῖς τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν βία λαβόντες, τὰς δ' ἐντειχισάμενοι, ῥαδίως ἡλπίζομεν καταπολεμήσειν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ ξύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ ἄρξειν.' The plans are those of a later date, but there was more than one Alcibiades living in 431 to whom such ideas had already occurred, and the Peloponnesians who had the fate of Potidaea, Megara, and Aegina before their eyes, may well have been excused if they even exaggerated the dangers of the Athenian empire.

¹ Thuc. vi. 90.

DOROTHEVS AGAIN, AND OTHERS.

THE poetical remains of Dorotheus, on which I made some comments in the *Classical Quarterly* vol. ii pp. 47-61, have received from the cod. Vat. Graec. 1056 an increase of ten verses, published by Mr J. Heeg in *catal. cod. astrol. Graec.* vol. v part iii p. 125 and also in *Hermes* vol. xlv pp. 316-8. They deal with conjunctions of Mars and Saturn :

ἀμφοτέρων δὲ
κίρναμένων μέσσος κεν ἐὼν βροτὸς ἔσσειτ' ἄριστος.

Mr Heeg prints *κείνων* from the conjecture of Mr Boll. Emendatorial activity would have been better employed in correcting such things as *Ζῆνος*, *πρήεα*, ἄρ' *Ἐνναλίῳ*, ἄρ' *Αἰγίοχος* : here there is not a letter to be changed.

μέσσος κεν ἐὼν βροτὸς ἔσσειτ' ἄριστος.

This good epic construction recurs in 272 τότε κεν πλόος ἔσσεται ἐσθλός and in other verses.

Mr Heeg has observed that the chapter which he prints in the C.C.A.G. on pp. 80-2 is a prose paraphrase of Doroth. 296-318. But he has overlooked a still closer paraphrase in the passage printed on p. 122, whose heading is λόγοι τοῦ Δωροθέου :

ἐνδέχεται εἰς πᾶσαν καταρχὴν . . . ἐπιχειρήσεως κτίσματος, ἵνα αὐξίφωτέῃ ἡ Σελήνη καὶ προστίθεται τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς βορεία τε οὖσα καὶ συνάπτουσα τῷ Διὶ ἡ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. παρατηρεῖν δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὴ συνάπτεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς τὸν Κρόνον· δηλοῖ γὰρ δυσχέρειαν ἐπὶ τῇ καταρχομένῃ πράξει καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ τινος ὑποθέσεως γενομένη ἐρωτήσῃ. εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνοδεύει τῷ Ἄρει ἡ συσχηματίζει ἐπὶ καταρχῆς κτίσματος τινος, ἐπισυμβήσεται ἐμπρησμὸς ἢ χαλασμὸς ἢ πόλεμος.

This is Doroth. 128-34 :

ἡνίκα δ' αὖτε θέμεθλα δομήιά τ' ἔργα τελειοῖς
προσθετικῇ φάεσιν καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μήκος ἀριθμοῖς
ἔστω τοι Κερόεσσα τό τε πλάτος ἐμβαίνουσα
ὅττι βορειότατον ζώνης πλινθήϊόν ἐστιν,
ἡ Διὸς ἡ Παφίης ἐν σχήμασι μαρτυρεύντων
ἡ ἐκ συννεσσυμένων· Φαίνων γε μὲν αἰὲν ἐρύκει
δερκόμενος, μαλερὴν δὲ περὶ φλόγα Θοῦρος ὀρίνει.

Again, on pp. 49-50, Mr Heeg mentions a chapter *περὶ γάμου* found on fol. 177 of the MS and beginning *τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα*, and says that perhaps it is identical with a chapter in cod. Ven. Marc. 335 fol. 99^v beginning *τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου λάμβανε*. Perhaps it is; but what is equally probable, and more important if true, is that it comes from Dorotheus. 135 sqq., cited in Heph. Theb. iii 9 *περὶ γάμου*:

*ἄνδρα μὲν Ἡέλιον καὶ ἀνερχόμενον σκοπὸν ὥρης
... ἂν φράσσαιο κ.τ.λ.*

Mr Heeg himself notes that Dorotheus is mentioned in the chapter, and adds 'edetur in appendice'; but this promise he has forgotten to keep.

Finally the chapter printed on p. 120, *λέγουσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κ.τ.λ.*, has a good deal in common with Dorotheus. 211-5. Dorotheus and the Egyptians are often mentioned in company.

Not even an editor of Manilius is bound to read the volumes of the C.C.A.G., but he is bound to skim them; and on two pages of this instalment my eye has been caught by a number of errors both obvious and easily removed.

Page 96.

περὶ τῶν ζῳδίων λέγει ὁ Σαραπίων οὕτως. περισσομελῇ ζῳδιά εἰσι τὰ τοῖς μέλεσι πλεονάζοντα, Ταῦρος, Καρκίνος, Παρθένος, Σκορπίος, Τοξότης, Δίδυμοι, Ὕδροχόος, Ἰχθύες, Αἰγόκερως, <Λέων>. Ταῦρος μὲν διὰ τὴν Πλειάδα, Καρκίνος διὰ τὸ νεφέλιον, Παρθένος διὰ τὸν στάχυν, Σκορπίος διὰ τὸ κέντρον, Τοξότης διὰ τὴν ἀκίδα, Δίδυμοι διὰ τὴν λύραν, Ὕδροχόος διὰ τὴν κάλπιν, Ἰχθύες διὰ τὸ λίνον, Αἰγόκερως διὰ τὴν οὐρὰν τὴν περικαμπή, Λέων δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς Ἰχθύας πολυκίνητον καὶ ἀντικείμενον αὐτῷ.

πάρυγρα δὲ Λέων ὁ αὐτός, Ὕδροχόος διὰ τὸν Ἡριδανόν, Αἰγόκερως διὰ τὸ οὐραῖον, Τοξότης διὰ τὸ πλοῖον [τῆς Ἀργοῦς] καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον πέλαγος.

Mr Heeg's notes on the three readings are 'Λέων om. cod.', 'ἐαυτῷ cod.', 'τῆς Ἀργοῦς uncinis secl.' In all three places the MS is right.

Because at the end of the first paragraph Mr Heeg finds *Λέων* coming after *Αἰγόκερως*, he inserts it in the same place in the first sentence. But the sign of Leo is not *περισσομελής*, and, if it were, the reason which Mr Heeg has provided, *διὰ τοὺς Ἰχθύας ἀντικείμενον αὐτῷ*, would still be a false reason; for Pisces is not opposite Leo: it is opposite Virgo, and Leo is opposite Aquarius. *ἀντικείμενον ἐαυτῷ* is an astrological epithet for the double sign of Pisces itself: Vett. Val. ed. Kroll p. 13 1-4 *Ἰχθύες εἰσὶν . . . πολυκίνητον . . . ἀντικείμενον ἐαυτῷ διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν νότιον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ βόρειον*, Ludw. Maxim. p. 109 21 *ἀντικείμενον ἐαυτῷ*. Ἰχθύες. And the *Λέων* twice mentioned in this extract is no sign of the zodiac, for the terror of Nemea was no more *πάρυγρον* than he was *περισσομελής*: the phrases *Λέων δὲ μᾶλλον*, *Λέων ὁ αὐτός*, make it plain that Leo is an astrological authority quoted

like Sarapio. We can even identify him: he is ὁ σοφώτατος Λέων, the author of the chapter περὶ ἡλιακῆς ἐκλείψεως printed in *Hermes* viii pp. 173-6 and of the σχόλια Λέοντος φιλοσόφου in *C.C.A.G.* i p. 139. The words mean 'but Leo, differing from Sarapio, says that Capricorn is περισσομελές not διὰ τὴν οὐράν but διὰ τοὺς Ἰχθύας,' 'the same Leo calls Aquarius, Capricorn and Sagittarius πάρυγρα.' What Leo meant or thought he meant by these ἰχθύες which he connects with Capricorn I will not now enquire; but the same fiction or fantasy appears in three lists of παρανατέλλοντα printed by Mr Boll on pp. 49 and 58 of his *Sphaera*: ἐν Αἰγοκέρωτι ἰχθύες.

Lastly I come to the excision of τῆς Ἀργούς. That Mr Heeg should himself refuse to identify this πλοῖον (*Erat. catast.* 28, schol. German. Breys. pp. 90-1) with the constellation Argo is eminently proper; but he has no business to impose his own opinion, however correct, on the sapient Leo, for we know that astrologers confused them. We have the close parallel *C.C.A.G.* i pp. 165-6 ἔνυδρα . . . Αἰγόκερως μὲν διὰ τὸ οὐραῖον, Ὑδροχόος διὰ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (ὑπαντοὺς cod., ὑπ' αὐτῶν Cumont, I cannot imagine why) ἐκχεῖσθαι τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ποταμὸν, Τοξότης δὲ διὰ τὴν Ἀργὴν τὸ πλοῖον καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον πέλαγος, and again ii p. 168 31 ἐν γὰρ Τοξεύτῃ ἢ Ἀργὴν τὸ πλοῖον, Vett. Val. p. 11 3 Τοξότης . . . κάθυγον διὰ τὴν Ἀργὴν. To identify, as Leo does, Eridanus with the χύσις ὕδατος is likewise a blunder; but Mr Heeg does not correct it for him.

Page III.

Here we have a pretended geniture of Mohammed.

εὐρέθη ὁ ὥροσκόπος Ἰχθύες καὶ ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι Τοξότης καὶ καθεξῆς Κρόνος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ, Ἀναβιβάζων ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ, Σελήνη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ, Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἄρης ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ εἰς τὴν Παρθένον, Ἥλιος ἐν τῷ ἑννάτῳ εἰς τὸν Σκορπίον, Ζεὺς καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Καταβιβάζων ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ εἰς τὸν Τοξότην.

So far all is plain; but now begins the interpretation of these data, and blunders come thick and fast. The numbers which I prefix to my citations are those of the lines of the page.

3-5. εὕρομεν τὸν ὥροσκόπον οἶκον Διὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὀρίοις συνοδεύου τῷ Ἑρμῇ ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι (ὑπογείω cod., corr. Cumont). συνοδεύοντα, whether it agrees with ὥροσκόπον or with οἶκον, is nonsense: it must be συνοδεύοντος. Jupiter and Mercury, it has already been said, were in synod in the tenth place, the Medium Caelum: see also l. 11 τὸν Ἑρμῆν συνοδεύοντα τούτῳ (τῷ Δί).

5-7. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας κύριος ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τῆς ὥρας ὁ Ἑρμῆς, καὶ ὁ Καταβιβάζων μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὸ μεσουράνημα ὁ Ἀναβιβάζων. The Anabibazon was not in the Medium Caelum but in the Imum Caelum, ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ. I do not need to be told that μεσουράνημα is sometimes used (and correctly enough) for ἀντιμεσουράνημα; but comparison with l. 5 above

makes it clear that the scribe transposed his terms, wrote *ὑπογείω* there for *μεσουρανήματι*, and *μεσουράνημα* here for *ὑπόγειον*.

8-9. *ὁ δὲ τρίτος τόπος ἀνθρωπόμορφον ζώδιον*. Either *τρίτος* or *ἀνθρωπόμορφον* is wrong, for in this geniture the sign in the third place must have been Taurus.

15. *διότι δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ Διὶ ὁ Ἄρης*, and again 31-2 *διότι δὲ ἦν ὁ Ἄρης ἐν τῷ Διὶ μέλλων εἰσέρχασθαι εἰς τὸν Ζυγόν*. If this were poetry, *Διί* might stand for *οἶκῳ Διός*; but that would give a false sense, for Mars was in Virgo, which is a house not of Jupiter but of Mercury. Write *ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ*: the scribe mistook ζ' for Ζ in both places.

22-4. *εὗρον τὸν Ἀναβιβάζοντα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τόπῳ ἐν οἶκῳ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸν δὲ κύριον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κάτω συνοδεύοντα τῷ Διί*. Mercury and Jupiter were not *ἐν τῷ κάτω* but in the very highest part of the zodiac. Mr Heeg innocently observes 'ante κάτω superscr. man. ead. δε.' Well, there is the truth: *ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ*.

CAMBRIDGE.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

MISCELLANEA.

PARMENIDES (Diels) i 37. *μόνος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ὁδοῖο | λείπεται*. It is generally admitted that *θυμός* is unintelligible; people who 'can construe *anything*' can of course construe this also. Others compare viii 1, *μῦθος δ' ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο | λείπεται*, and would read *μῦθος* here. This is no more intelligible than the other, and it is pretty clear that both lines are corrupt, and that the phrase was originally neither *μῦθος* nor *θυμός ὁδοῖο*. There is a word which would very easily be corrupted into *θυμός*, and that word is *οἶμος*; for the tautology of *οἶμος ὁδοῖο* compare i 27. *τήνδ' ὁδόν, ἧ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἔκτος πάτου ἐστίν*, where a *ὁδός* is outside a *πάτος*, and many similar epic phrases such as *ἀοιδῆς ὕμνος, τέλος θανάτοιο*.

Ibid. ii 2. *οὐ γὰρ ἀποτμήξει τὸ ἐὸν τοῦ ἐόντος ἔχεσθαι*. This again can only be construed by ignoring all we know of Greek habits of speech. Now *ἔχεσθαι* and *ἔχεισθα* are practically identical in MSS., *ἀποτμήξαι ἔχεισθα* is unimpeachable Greek, and when *ἔχεισθα* had been corrupted *ἀποτμήξαι* had to go too. The form *ἔχεισθα* is a startling one, but it is found in Theognis 1316; the verb is abnormal in other respects also, as the wonderful optative *σχοίην* testifies; hence I believe that the still more extraordinary *σχήσεισθα* of *Hymn. Cer.* 366 is genuine (*σχήσησθα* M, *σχήσεισθα* Boissonade); anyhow it is more plausible in so ancient a hymn than the aorist *σχήσησθα*.

Ibid. viii 55. *ἀντία δ' ἐκρίναντο δέμας καὶ σήματ' ἔθεντο*. Qu. *δέμα*, the contracted form of *δέμαα*? Compare *κρέα, γέρα*. The plural of *δέμας* seems not to occur elsewhere, but is necessary here.

The line looks like a reminiscence of *Iliad* x 466, *δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκε*.

LYSIAS v. 4. *ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς αἵτιοι γεγενημένοι, περὶ ἐλευθερίας νυνὶ ποιοῦνται τοὺς λόγους*.

Lysias is trying to discredit the evidence of slaves, who have been acquainted with evil all their lives, *πολλῶν κακῶν πεπειραμένοι*, and now talk about liberty 'as if they had become *αἵτιοι* of something good.' But *αἵτιοι* is no sense; the point is not that the slaves have *done* evil before, but now have become the *cause* of good; the point is that they have *suffered* evil and now talk as if they *deserved* good. Read then *ἄξιοι*. This word is frequently confused with *αἵτιοι*, e.g. Aristoph. *Ach.* 633, 1062; and an unlucky instance

of this confusion has run like wildfire all through Nall's 'Exercises on Rutherford's Syntax.'

LYSIAS vii 22. οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρων ἔδει σοι μαρτύρων. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σοι συνήδεσαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντι, οἷπερ καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν ἔμελλον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.

Plainly we should read οὗτοι for οὕτω, and then we get οἷπερ properly led up to and ἐτέρων properly connected with what follows it. Doubtless οὕτω can be explained, but who that is acquainted with the tone of Attic oratory can hesitate to prefer οὗτοι? And now I find that it is actually given in the margin of the Aldine.

LYSIAS xii 47. καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κακοῖς πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς <οὐκ ἂν> ῥαδίως παρέβαινον. Careful consideration of the argument will show that the insertion of οὐκ ἂν is absolutely necessary. 'They had scruples about breaking their oaths when it was a question of injuring their fellow-citizens, but if they had any sense in them they *would not have shrunk* from transgressing them for the benefit of Athens.' The μὲν and δέ cannot be ignored; yet unless they are ignored οὐκ must negative the *whole* sentence, not only the μὲν clause. But if οὐκ negatives ῥαδίως παρέβαινον we get the statement that these people 'would not have lightly broken their oath,' as if they *had* broken it; now what Lysias complains of is that they did *not* break it. Therefore we must have οὐκ —οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως παρέβαινον.

Lysias is particularly fond of these complicated sentences where a negative is followed by μὲν and δέ, the δέ clause also containing another negative. For example vii 26: καίτοι οὐ δήπου τὰς μὲν μικρὰς ζημίας οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεαι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδύνους οὕτω περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγούμεαι.

PLUTARCH *de Liberis Educandis* 12 E. 'μὴ φορεῖν στενὸν δακτύλιον,' ὅτι δεῖ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ μὴ δεῖν δεσμῷ προσάπτειν αὐτόν. The words are an enigma of Pythagoras with Plutarch's solution, but at present no sense can be got out of the latter. If we are recommended 'not to wear a *tight* ring,' it is clear that the ring typifies something bad and that must be part of the explanation. Then what would it typify? The sort of thing that narrows our lives might be very variously expounded, but if we are to keep to the Greek it will have to be ἐπιτήδευσις; bad habit may well be likened to a tight ring. For ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ therefore ἐπιτηδεύσει κακῇ seems the most plausible correction. Then προσάπτειν δεσμῷ means nothing, and what is αὐτόν? Should we continue with something like μὴ δεῖν ὥσπερ δεσμῷ περιάπτοντα?

PLUTARCH *Quomodo Adolescens, etc.* 17 D. αὐται (sc. αἱ φωναὶ) πεπονθότων εἰσὶ καὶ προεαλωκότων ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ ἀπάτης. Read πεποιθότων, comparing the words at the beginning of 17 C, καὶ οὗθ' Ὅμηρος οὔτε Πίνδαρος οὔτε Σοφοκλῆς πεπεισμένοι ταῦτ' ἔχειν οὕτως ἔγραψαν κ.τ.λ. Plutarch complains that the poets do not speak as men convinced in their description of the next world, but when they lament over death, then they are convinced and slaves of a false opinion.

PLUTARCH *Quomodo Adulator, etc.* 57 E. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ, φησὶν, οὐδέν ἐστι δεινόν, οὐδὲν πονηρόν, ἀλλ' ἴδιος ἄνθρωπος, πάντα πράως φέρει, πάντ' ἀλύπως.

Read ἀλλ' ἱερὸς ἄνθρωπος. Cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 652. This is perhaps better in itself and certainly nearer the MSS. than ἀλλὰ θεῖος would be, but either *may* have been the original.

Ibid. 63 C. ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ φίλου χάρις ὥσπερ ζῶον ἐν βάθει τὰς κυριωτάτας ἔχει δυνάμεις. The meaning is that the favour of a friend is not superficial but has a solid basis, even if the surface is not so attractive as that of a flatterer. Compare *de Amicorum Multitudine* 96 F, καίτοι τοῦ πολύποδος αἱ μεταβολαὶ βάθος οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτὴν γίνονται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. But the ζῶον here cannot be a cuttle-fish nor any other animal surely. Read *ῥόν* (the two words are frequently confused in the MSS. of Aristotle); the value of an egg is not in its shell.

PLUTARCH *de Sollertia Animalium* 977 A. Discussing the Homeric account of fishing, *Iliad* xxiv 80-82, Plutarch quotes a ridiculous explanation of κέρας, and then continues thus: 'Αριστοτέλης δέ φησι μηδὲν ἐν τούτοις λέγεσθαι σοφὸν ἢ περιττὸν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι κεράτιον περιτίθεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἀγκίστρον περὶ τὴν ὀρμίαν. 'Locum non inueni,' says Bernardakis, and no wonder; of course 'Αριστοτέλης is simply a mistake for 'Αρίσταρχος.

Ibid. 967 F.

After quoting a passage of Aratus (*Phaen.* 956):

ἡ κοίλης μύρμηκες ὀχῆς ἐξ ὧσα πάντα
θᾶσσον ἀνηνέγκαντο,

Plutarch adds: καί τινες οὐκ 'ῥά' (ὧσα Bernardakis) γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' 'έα' ὡς τοὺς ἀποκειμένους καρπούς. Nobody can have written έά because it will not scan, nor has it any meaning except *sua* and that is pointless. Read *ἦα*.

What the ants really carry out in Aratus and Virgil is their pupas, but these are commonly called 'eggs' to this day.

A little further on he says: τοὺς δὲ τὰς μυρμηκίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ καταμαθεῖν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνατομῆς πληροῦντας οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι. Bernardakis suggests *πηροῦντας*; he might as well have suggested *κληροῦντας*. Nothing near the letters will do, but the sense shows that Plutarch wrote *θεωροῦντας*.

Ibid. 977 F. τῶν δικτύων οὖν τὸ γένος ὀρθῶς "Ομηρος πανάγραν προσεῖπεν. But he doesn't; the reference is to *Iliad* v 487, and Plutarch wrote *πάναγρον*.

Ibid. 979 A. 'Αλλὰ μὴν ἔχινον γέ τινα χερσαίου διηγῆσατο πρόγνωσιν 'Αριστοτέλης πνευμάτων. But the MSS. of Plutarch give 'Αριστότιμος; the philosopher has been imported here by Rose who on the strength of this conjecture ascribes the passage to Aristotle (*frag.* 342). Anyone who will read the treatise will see that the MSS. are right. In 965 E Aristotimus begins a long speech in praise of the wisdom of land-animals, in the course of which he tells the story about the hedgehog here referred to (972 A).

Phaedimus is now answering him and naturally refers to him by name. Therefore let us take the advice of Autobulus; *μὴ τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους πράγματα βιβλίοις παρέχωμεν*.

The following corrections of Plutarch's *Moralia* are pretty obvious and of no particular interest:

2 C, read *εὐδαίμων* and *Θεοφιλής*. 5 B, <διὰ> *μίαν ἡδονήν*; cf. 12 C. 7 E, *αἰρετέον* and *φευκτέον*. 10 D, *ἀπελθών* is part of the words of Plato. 14 A, <οἱ> *φαύλως ζῶντες*, and for *ἄγουσιν* read *ἔχουσιν*; the opposite corruption is found in 27 D. 33 F, *εἰς ἀκρασίας*. 41 F, *διαπτόμεναι*. 59 A, *Βίαντος* for *Βίωνος*? 74 A, *πληκτική* for *πρακτική*? 81 E, omit *ἐν* after *κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν*. 100 F, *εἰ καθεύδουσι*. 115 A, *καὶ τὸ* after *θάλασσα*. 140 C, *ἥδη τάνδρῃ* for *ἥδη ἀνδρὶ* which is condemned by the sense and the hiatus. 146 D, *κατά* for *μετά*. 147 D, *μᾶλλον* for *πολλῶν*. 152 B, *προσαποφαίνομαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις γνώμαις ἀπάσαις σχεδὸν ἀφεστάναι*.

PHILOSTRATUS *Vit. Apoll.* i 22 ad fin. *ἴωμεν εὐξόμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ ταῦτα φαίνουσι*.

It is possible to construe *ἴωμεν εὐξόμενοι*, but the natural thing would be to thank the gods *before* departing, as Socrates does in *Phaedrus* 279 B, *οὐκ οὐκ εὐξαμένω πρέπει τοῖσδε πορεύεσθαι*; 'should we not offer up thanks to these before we go?' Indeed Philostratus had, I think, this passage in his mind. Read therefore *εὐξάμενοι*.

Besides Philostratus tries to write Attic prose and in Attic prose one does not use *εἶμι* with a future participle, I believe. The lexicon quotes Plato *Laus* 909 D, but Plato is there laying down a law in his most stilted and artificial style. 'Let us go to pray' in ordinary Attic is *εὐχόμεθα ἰόντες*.

Ibid. i 33 (Teubner ed. p. 35, l. 12). For *ἀφαιρεῖται* read *ἀφήρηται*.

Ibid. ii 11. For *ἡ μᾶστιξ* read *τῇ μᾶστιγι χρῆσθαι*. The last word was lost, and then the dative had to be changed to the nominative, but it does not fit in properly.

Ibid. ii 12. *πύργους . . . ἀφ' ὧν τοξεύουσιν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοί, καθάπερ ἐκ πυλῶν βάλλοντες*. Towers on the back of elephants; *πυλῶν* is absurd. *Qu. τειχῶν*? For *τει* may be easily written very like *πυ*, and *λ* is eternally confused with *χ*.

Ibid. ii 22. *ὃν δὲ διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρόνον, πολλὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐγένετο, ἔστ' ἂν ἀγγεληθῇ κ.τ.λ.*

Read *ἔστ' ἀνηγγέλθη* or *ἀναγγεληθείη*.

Ibid. iii 48 ad fin. *τὴν τίγριν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μόνην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τάχος αὐτὴν ἐσποιεῖ τοῖς ἀνέμοις*.

Qu. ἴσην ποιεῖ? *ἰσοποιεῖ* would be neater, but there is no such word accredited.

Ibid. iv 8 ad fin. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ διαβεβλήσθαι τὰς χεῖρας. 'A state will be strong if every one follows his own bent, one man being admired for wisdom, another for being a severe censor of morals, another for not διαβεβλήσθαι τὰς χεῖρας.'

Read τοῖς χείροσιν. 'For getting on well with his inferiors.'

Ibid. iv 32. οἱ μέσῃν ποτὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὥκησαν.

The meaning should be: 'who built Sparta inland.' Philostratus must have written μεσόγειων.

Ibid. iv 40. Read 'ἐμὴ γὰρ' ἔφη 'αὕτη <ἡ> ἀρχή.'

Ibid. v 7 ad fin. Read ἀναχωρήσειν.

Ibid. vii 11. Surely ἀνέγκισαν should be ἀπέγκισαν?

Ibid. viii 7 (Teubner ed. p. 314, l. 15). Read πάντα <τὰ> γιγνόμενα.

Compare Plato *Rep.* 596 C—E, which I think was in the author's mind possibly.

ARTHUR PLATT.

OEDIPVS TYRANNVS 772.

τῷ γὰρ ἂν καὶ μείζονι
λέξαιμι' ἂν ἢ σοὶ διὰ τύχης τοιαῦσδ' ἰών;

Mr. Richards is justified in saying that *μείζονι* is here indefensible, but he does not much mend matters by reading *κάμεινονι*. Iocasta may have been a paragon of all the virtues, but what has that to do with it? No, the real correction is *μείζονα*. 'To whom should I tell even greater things than this rather than to thee?'

The confusion or fusion of comparatives is exactly in the manner of Sophocles; *μείζονα* means *μείζονα τούτων*, and at the same time we must get *μᾶλλον* out of it to go with *ἢ σοί*. Another instance of the same construction is *Ant.* 313:

ἐκ τῶν γὰρ αἰσχροῶν λημμάτων τοὺς πλείονας
ἀτωμένους ἴδοις ἂν ἢ σεσωμένους.

Here the article with *πλείονας* compels us to take the words to mean 'the majority of people,' but out of the comparative we supply *μᾶλλον* to go with *ἢ σεσωμένους*.

Now see what delicate work has been ruined all these centuries by this unlucky blot. Oedipus thought little enough of the murder of Laius at the time, but now it is becoming serious, very serious indeed. Nothing 'greater' than that seems to his limited view possible, but should there be such to whom can he tell it rather than to his wife? Yet there is one thing worse in store for him, the very fact that she *is* his wife, and when in his trouble he turns to her for consolation, promising to confide even greater things to her if to anyone, he knows not that of all creatures on the face of the earth she is the very last to whom he could say a word about it.

I rather wonder that it never struck anybody that *λέξαιμι* without an accusative was here utterly intolerable. 'To whom should I speak?' indeed! But I confess to total blindness on that point myself, at least till after I had seen the meaning of the whole couplet. *καί* now goes rightly with *μείζονα*.

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VARIA.

GREEK ARGUMENTS, ETC., TO PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES.

(Quoted according to the order and paging in Bergk's Teubner text.)

ACHARNIANS arg. 1, line 17. εἶτα γενομένου διελκυσμοῦ κατενεχθεῖς ὁ χορὸς ἀπολύει τὸν Δικαιοπόλιν.

For κατενεχθεῖς, which is unmeaning, Blaydes' κατελεγχθεῖς has found favour. But καταλλαχθεῖς reconciled is more suitable and more probable. So too in line 9 of the first argument to the *Knights*, where Cleon (more properly Paphlagon) is described as διενεχθεῖς ἱκανῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀναγωγότερος (vulg. ἀνώτερος: νεανικώτερος ?) εἶναι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων, though the editors seem content with διενεχθεῖς, I propose διαλεχθεῖς.

KNIGHTS 1. 1 τὸ δρᾶμα τῶν Ἰππέων ποιεῖται εἰς Κλέωνα.

Read πεποίηται, since the perfect, as in *Clouds* 1. 1 and 10. 1 (τὸ δρᾶμα γέγραπται), *Wasps* 1. 30 and 34 (τὸ δρᾶμα πεποίηται), *Birds* 2. 31 (τὰ ὀνόματα πεποίηται), or aorist is the ordinary tense. The present giving an incident in the play is a different thing.

3. 5 perhaps ὄντ' ἀληθῶς σκατοφάγον. In line 1 we might insert τε before τινά, which more properly it should follow. τινά itself is shown to be right by 2. 6 Κλέων τις βυρσοποώλης.

CLOUDS 4. 1.

πατὴρ τὸν υἱὸν σωκρατίζειν βούλεται,
καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ψυχρολογίας διατριβὴ
ἱκανή.

The terminations have, as often, got confused. Read ψυχρολογία διατριβῆς. The construction is ἱκανὴ ψ. τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν (αὐτὸ ?) διατριβῆς.

6. 6 ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν προσώπων διαλλαγῇ μετεσχημάτισται.

'There have been alterations in arrangement and in the change of the characters' is a curious expression. We must not think too much of bad style in these compositions, but it suggests the possibility of διαλέξει for διαλλαγῇ.

10. 12 χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἱκανοῖς, ὡς λόγος, δεξιωσάμενοι. The inappropriate δεξιωσάμενοι is a mistake arising from δεξιό-τατα in the next line. μισθωσάμενοι ? οἰκειωσάμενοι ?

In line 50 νικηθεῖς must be νικήσας, and in 51 another adverb (εἶ ?) coupled with ἱκανῶς has been lost.

WASPS I. 12 ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐπειράτο τὰς ὑποψίας ἐξαιρεῖν τοῦ πράγματος, νουθετῶν τὸν γέροντα.

ὑποψίας should probably be ἀτοπίας.

I. 21 The chorus, οἵ, ὅτε μὲν ἦσαν νέοι, πικρῶς ταῖς δίκαις ἐφήδρευον, ἐπεὶ δὲ γέροντες γεγónασι, κεντοῦσι τοῖς κέντροις.

There is something wrong about ταῖς δίκαις ἐφήδρευον, though the Oxford editors stand alone, as far as I know, in perceiving it. Such a statement is not true of the chorus' youth, and therefore Messrs. Hall and Geldart have marked ταῖς δίκαις as corrupt. No doubt that would be one's first thought, but in spite of the chronological error it would be strange if a phrase so suitable to the chorus was a mere mistake. Is it not more likely that the clauses have by some odd accident got interchanged and the tenses adapted accordingly? Without pretending to fix the exact order of words, I suggest ὅτε μὲν ἦσαν νέοι, τοῖς κέντροις ἐκέντουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ γέροντες γεγónασι, πικρῶς ἐφεδρεύουσι ταῖς δίκαις. The writer is of course referring to part of the parabasis of the play (1075-1121), and it is true that in 1113, πάντα γὰρ κεντούμεν ἄνδρα κάκπορίζομεν βίον, the chorus use κεντούμεν in the present tense of their judicial action. But in 1088 κεντούμενοι is also used of the defeated Persian troops, and all the passage from 1074 to 1090 turns on the use of the sting in war when they were younger. Cf. 1060-1070. ἐφεδρεύω is used not in its older sense but = παρεδρεύω. Cf. Herwerden's *Lexicon*.

The nearest parallel I know to such an interchange of words and terminations is Isaeus II. 21, where τὸν μὲν ἡττᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ νικᾶν is now read for τὸν μὲν νικᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡττᾶν, there being of course no such form as ἡττᾶν in use. But that interchange is less extensive and remarkable.

2. 3. μὴ λανθάνῃ μῆδ' ἐξίῃ διὰ τὴν νόσον.

Read μῆδ' ἐξιῶν.

PEACE I. 19 for διασαφεῖ τὰ δέοντα · πάλιν ἀποφαινομένης κ.τ.λ. read διασαφεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει. Cf. *Peace* 704. The next words are very uncertain, perhaps πυνθανομένης πρὸς τούτῳ.

BIRDS 2. I τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας should perhaps be τῆς τ. Ἀ. πόλεως, not τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πολίταις (Vitelli), and in τὸ μέγιστον ἦν κλέος αὐτόχθοσι γενέσθαι do we not want γεγενῆσθαι? Cf. (πε)ποιήται above. Then in ἀνετέτραπτο καὶ διωρθοῦτο πάλιν (4-5) we should certainly read διώρθωτο, and a few lines below (9) probably οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτ' ἐξῆν (cf. van Leeuwen).

FROGS I. 7 ὁ μὲν Ξανθίας . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ Χάρωνος οὐκ ἀναληφθεὶς πεζῇ τὴν λίμνην κύκλω πορεύεται.

As λίμνην is wanting in R and V, τὴν κύκλω (i.e. ὁδόν) is sometimes read. But arg. 4. 39 πεζῇ τὴν λίμνην κύκλω περιπορεύεται seems to give us the real words. In the latter passage (4. 38) read τὴν περὶ Ἀργινούσας οὐκ ἐναυμάχησε ναυμαχίαν, not τῇ . . . ναυμαχία.

GREEK LIVES OF THE TRAGEDIANS.

AESCHYLUS, Part 2. 7 ἃ δὲ μόνον δραματικά should be omitted as a repetition, and αὐτὰ γάρ . . . κύρος ἔχει put after δραματικά καὶ μιμητικά.

SOPHOCLES 7. πολλὰ ἐκαινούργησεν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πρῶτον μὲν καταλύσας τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τοῦ ποιητοῦ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν μικροφωνίαν· πάλαι γὰρ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπεκρίνετο· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς χορευτὰς ποιήσας ἀντὶ ἰβ' ἰε' καὶ τὸν τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν ἐξηῦρεν.

There is no point in αὐτοὺς τοὺς χορευτὰς. It is well known that αὐτός and πρῶτος are liable to be confused. Read therefore πρῶτος μὲν (for πρῶτον μὲν) and πρῶτος δὲ τοὺς χορευτὰς, or possibly ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτός· πρῶτος δὲ κ.τ.λ.: also probably ἐξευρών. It may be observed that Suidas has a similar αὐτός in the short notice of Sophocles, καὶ αὐτὸς (πρῶτος ?) ἤρξε τοῦ δράμα πρὸς δρᾶμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, and that the life of Aeschylus Part 2. 2 says τὸν δὲ τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸς ἐξηῦρεν, ὡς δὲ Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσήνιος, Σοφοκλῆς, where αὐτός has more force but may not be right. On the other hand πρῶτος is used several times in these compositions, e.g. πρῶτος τρισὶν ἐχρήσατο ὑποκριταῖς Suidas on Sophocles.

8 κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ Θαμύριδί ποτε ἐκιθάρισεν.

Welcker μονῳδῶ for μόνῳ without much plausibility. But μόνῳ must be wrong, and I conjecture ἐμμελῶς ἐν τῷ Θαμύριδι.

12 τρίτα should be τριτεῖα.

31. κρύπτω τῷδε τάφῳ Σοφοκλῆν πρωτεῖα λαβόντα
τῇ τραγικῇ τέχνῃ σχῆμα τὸ σεμνότατον.

No doubt τῆς τραγικῆς τέχνης. τε for τό? σχήματι σεμνοτάτῳ or -ον? See also my *Aristophanes and Others*, pp. 272-3.

EURIPIDES line 5 ἥσκησε κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν παγκράτιον ἢ πυγμὴν, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ χρησμὸν λαβόντος ὅτι στεφανηφόρους ἀγῶνας νικήσει.

Evidently ἥ should be καί,¹ and so indeed the parallel passage of Thomas Magister (Westermann, p. 139) actually has.

23 χαριζόμενος αὐτῷ (Archelaus) δράμα ὁμωνύμως ἔγραφε. Read ὁμώνυμον, unless it should be something like ὁμωνύμως <λεγόμενον>.

Just below ἐλέγετο (read λέγεται) βαθὺν πώγωνα θρέψαι.

56 διεσπαράχθη καταβρωθεῖς by dogs. Surely διασπαράχθεις κατεβρώθη. (Thomas Magister has κατεβρώθη without διασπαράχθεις).

¹ I noticed lately another example of this very common confusion in the Προλεγόμενα τῆς Πλάτωνος φιλοσοφίας 12 (C. F. Hermann's *Appendix Platonica* p. 207) μίαν ἔλεγεν τῶν πάντων ἀρχὴν καὶ

οὐ δύο . . . καὶ ταύτην οὐ σῶμα ἀλλ' ἀσώματον, καὶ ἀσώματον <δν>? οὐ ζῶήν, ἥ (read καὶ) γὰρ ἂν πάντα ἔζων . . ., ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν.

[HERODES] *περὶ πολιτείας*.

I quote this interesting work, now ascribed to the end of 5th century B.C., from Drerup's text (1908).

6 νῦν δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπιστάμεθα, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον οὐδέποθ' ἡμῖν φίλον ἐσόμενον.

Besides the awkwardness of the clause τὸν ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ., διδασκαλίαν is not a word that can thus be made the direct object of ἐπιστάμεθα. Some participle governing it has been lost, e.g. ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν <λαβόντες>.

10 ἡπίστατο γὰρ ἔλθων ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας οὐδὲν ἂν ἔπραξεν ὧν ἐβούλετο.

ἐλθὼν should follow ἔπραξεν.

13 For τὸν διάλογον read τὸν διαλλάξοντα rather than τὸν διαλλακτῆν.

15 ἐπαγόμεθα τοὺς ἀμννοῦντας μισθῷ πείθοντες καὶ φυλασσόμεθα ξένους. ξένοις Beloch. But ξένους, like ἐλθὼν in 10, is out of place. Put it before or after ἐπαγόμεθα.

17 ὅτε (for which τότε and ὁπότε are suggested) should be ὥστε. Hiatus is admissible after a considerable pause.

28 <τοὺς> προσεχομένους δέ.

LESBONAX (ed. Kiehr 1907).

2. 6 ἐλλιπόντων δὲ ἡμῶν τὴν προθυμίαν.

The dative τῇ προθυμίᾳ is probable. The accusative can hardly be right.

2. 9 ἐν τούτῳ ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν ὅσ' <ἄν> τις εὔξαιτο.

3. 1 εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς . . . τοιούτους ἔσεσθαι.

As εἰκός seldom, if ever, is followed by a future infinitive, perhaps we should read γενέσθαι. In Plutarch's *Lycurgus* 3 γενέσθαι is now read with certainty for ἔσεσθαι, in πρὶν . . . φανεράν ἔσεσθαι κυοῦσαν, ἐβασίλευεν. In D. Hal. A. R. 8. 67 MSS. vary between ἐσομένης and γενομένης, but there the mistake is probably due to ἐσομένους coming just before.

HERACLITUS: *Quaestiones Homericae* (Oelmann 1910).

§ 5 (end. O. p. 8) πλὴν ὅμως δι' ἐναντίων ἀλλήλοις πραγμάτων τὸ δηλούμενον ἐπείπομεν.

ἐπείπομεν gives some trouble. It stands, I think, for ἐπινοοῦμεν. Cf. the similar use of ἐπινοεῖται at the beginning of 42.

7, p. 11 τούτεστιν ὁ ἥλιος ὁ πόρρωθεν ἀφεστώς . . . ὥρων . . . ἐφίσταται.

Some MSS. are said to be without the ὁ before πόρρωθεν. It should be ὅς.

16, p. 24 πέρας γάρ ἐστι τῆς εὐσεβείας ἢ δύσιν, ἕως ἀκούοντα καὶ βλέποντα τὸν θεὸν ἐτίμων.

Read ἕως <ῆς>, until which.

31, p. 46 νεμεσηταὶ γὰρ αἱ πολέμων ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ῥοπαί.

For the ludicrous νεμεσηταὶ the conjectures νεμεσητικαί and ἀνομοθέτητοι are cited by Oelmann. An initial ἀ has probably been lost after a final α just preceding. As μ is apt to be confused with λ and η with π, we may perhaps conjecture ἀνέλπιστοι.

76, p. 101 πῶς . . . "Ὁμηρος ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Πλάτωνος ἂν ἐκαρτέρησε νόμοις οὕτως ἐναντία καὶ μαχομένη στάσει διφκισμένοις αὐτῷ;

Read διακειμένοις. A man may be said διατίθεσθαι νόμον, the law itself διακεῖσθαι.

[Hippocrates] περὶ τέχνης (at one time ascribed by Gomperz to Protagoras) 5 οὐ μὲν ὥστε εἰδέναι κ.τ.λ. ἀλλ' ὥστ' ἐπιτύχοιεν κ.τ.λ. ἂν has been inserted, but read the infinitive ἐπιτυχεῖν. In 4 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πῶς οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ I suggest πῶς καί.

In Phlegon's *Mirabilia* 2 (Westermann's *Paradoxographi*, p. 123, line 15) τοὺς κατὰ γῆν ὑπάρχοντας δεσπότας should be κατὰ γῆς, and 34 (141, 29) μέγεθος δὲ ἦν οὐχ οἰοίπερ οἱ γραφόμενοι οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν μικρόν shows the common substitution of οἶος for ὅσος.

In Psellus (*ib.* 143, 5) add ἂν to διαμετρήσειεν, and (144, 25) read προσδιδούς for προδιδούς.

Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 1180. 973 κανὼν ἐστὶ λόγος ἔντεχνος ἀπευθύνων ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸ καθόλου τὸ διεστραμμένον.

Read ὁμοιότητι. In the following sentence διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων is parallel to it.

Schol. Dionys. (Goettling, Theodosius 58. 31: quoted in Kaibel *Com. Graec. Fragm.* p. 17) ἐστὶ δὲ κωμῳδία μίμησις πράξεως καθαρτικῶν παθημάτων καὶ τοῦ βίου συστατική.

Clearly καθαρτική, like συστατική. Kaibel has just quoted from Tzetzes ἐστὶ κωμῳδία μ. π. . . . καθαρτήριος π., συστ. τ. βίου.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri 6. 130. In the Thucydides *Commentary* col. xvi line 6 τοῖς ἡδέως δια . . . σιν read, not διατῶσιν (= διατωμένοις) with the editor, but διάγουσιν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

A POEM ASCRIBED TO AUGUSTUS.

LUDWIG TRAUBE has remarked that 'Einer der sonderbarsten Abschnitte in der von Emil Baehrens rekonstruierten Anthologia latina (*Poeta[e] minores*, vol. iv., Leipzig, 1882) ist der, welcher die Gedichte Römischer Kaiser zusammenfasst, carmen 122-127 (Seite 111 ffg.).'¹ Of these six poems he points out that Nos. 125 and 126 are early mediaeval epitaphs,² No. 127, *Hermaphroditus*, is later mediaeval, and that Nos. 123 and 124, which were favourites in the Middle Ages, are improperly ascribed to the Emperor Hadrian. Of the remaining poem, No. 122, he says nothing. It was first printed by Hermann Hagen in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxv, pp. 569 sqq. (1880), from the Berne MS. No. 109, a tenth century MS. of French origin, partly written in Tironian notes. Hagen gives a facsimile of the entry in the MS. which bears the title *Octō. aug.* This is the authority for attributing the poem to Augustus.

As no other MS. of this poem is known, it may be worth while to place on record a trace of acquaintance with it in England at the end of the eleventh century, and possibly earlier. The fifth line

Non semper gaudere licet : fugit hora, iocemur

is quoted, in the curiously corrupted form

Non semper licet gaudere : fugit hora, qua iacemur,

and ascribed apparently to King David,³ in the proem of a charter of King Berhtwulf of Mercia, dated 841, to the monastery of Bredon,⁴ co. Worcester. It has been marked by Kemble as spurious, but the body of it may well be genuine. The text is derived from the chartulary of Worcester, drawn up by the monk Heming by order of Bishop Wulfstan, who died in 1095. The original was at Worcester in 1643,⁵ but it has now disappeared. We are

¹ *O Roma Nobilis* (*Abhandlungen der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1 Cl. xix. Bd. ii, Abth., p. 320), which contains his brilliant study of *Hermaphroditus*.

² De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, ii, i, p. 260, and C. I. L. xii. No. 1122.

³ It is introduced by a quotation from Corinthians and 'et iterum sagax sophista "qui quondam Solymis diues regnavit in aruis" katolectico (*sic*) uersu cecinit dicens "Non semper licet gaudere : fugit hora, qua iacemur."' The first line is taken from Aldhelm, 'De Laudibus Virginum' (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 182); it occurs also, with a transposition of the second and third words, in his poem 'De aris Beatae Mariae et

Duodecim Apostolis dedicatis' (*ibid.* p. 118). The line, slightly changed, is applied to the 'psalmista' (David) in a Winchester charter of 947 (Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, No. 1157 (v. p. 307); Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 831 (ii. p. 597).

⁴ Kemble, No. 248 (ii. p. 12); Birch, No. 434 (ii. p. 9).

⁵ According to Sir William Dugdale's list of early charters at Worcester in Wanley's *Catalogus Librorum Septentrionalium, tam manuscriptorum quam impressorum*, printed in Hicke's, *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, Oxford, 1705, iii. p. 800, No. 60.

therefore deprived of any palaeographical means of testing its authenticity. The charter appears without the proem in the fragments in Cottonian MS. Nero E. 1 of an earlier Worcester chartulary,⁶ which are in a hand of *circa* 1000. In this chartulary the texts are usually abridged, and it is therefore impossible to argue from the absence of the proem that it did not exist in the charter used by the compiler of this chartulary, which was probably commenced by the order of St. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, from 961 to 992. Oswald, it is recorded, had been educated at Fleury,⁷ and thus played an important part in the revival of learning in England in the tenth century. It is possible that Oswald may have brought a knowledge of this poem to England from the great Benedictine seat of learning. Oswald is mentioned in a narrative appended to an undated Latin charter preserved by Heming from Wiferd and Alta, his wife,⁸ in which the very same proem, including the verse quotations, occurs. This is suspicious, but it may be due to the copying of Berhtwulf's proem by some post-Conquest clerk, who was making a Latin charter for Wiferd and Alta out of one in Anglo-Saxon, the text having, apart from the proem, the appearance of being such a version. The quotation of verse in Anglo-Saxon charters is exceptionally rare, and the few instances of it are involved in suspicion.

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⁶ Birch, No. 435 (ii. p. 10).

⁷ *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, ed. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, i. p. 413 (Rolls Series).

⁸ Kemble, No. 952 (iv. p. 286); Birch, No. 1007 (iii. p. 207).

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 32. No. 2. 1911.

Horatian Urbanity in Hesiod's Works and Days, E. K. Rand. *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University*, VI, Harry Langford Wilson. *Hiatus in the Accentual Clausulae of Byzantine Greek Prose*, Henry B. Dewing. Reviews. *Ridgeway's Origin of Tragedy*, Basil L. Gildersleeve. *Hoskier's Golden Latin Gospels*, Henry A. Sanders. Buchanan's edition of the *Codex Veronensis* (b), H. C. Hoskier. Brief mention. Editions of Plato's *Symposium* (Schöne's revision of Hug and Bury), Witte's *Singular and Plural*, Shewan's *Lay of Dolon*, Pascal's *Dionysos* (on religion and religious parody in Aristophanes), Gayley's *Classic Myths in English Literature and Art*, and Gudeman's *Imagines Philologorum* (the Editor). Burnam's *Palaeographica Iberica*, H.L.W.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.

(The works mentioned in this Summary are favourably reviewed.)

3 June. C. E. Millerd, *On the Interpretation of Empedocles* (Lortzing). High praise. G. Rudberg, *Kleinere Aristoteles-Fragen*, II (Stadler). H. Lewald, *Zur Personalexekution im Recht der Papyri* (Partsch). G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies* (Peter). A. v. Domaszewski, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser* (Bauer). J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Gruppe). Good as a record of modern Greek customs and beliefs, not for the conclusions drawn from them.

10 June. *Homers Odyssee, erkl. von K. F. Ameis u. C. Hentze*. II, 1. 9. A. bearb. von P. Cauer (Eberhard). H. F. Müller, *Die Tragödien des Sophokles*. —, *Beiträge zum Verständnis der tragischen Kunst*. 2. A. (Klammer). M. H. Morgan, *Addresses and Essays* (Gudeman). The following, though not favourably reviewed, deserve mention: L. Herbst, *Zu Thukydides VIII. 2. T.* (Hude). K. Hahn, *Demosthenis contiones num re vera in contione habitae sint quaeritur* (Thalheim). O. Schroeder, *Horazens Versmasze* (Maas). There are also communications from E. A. Sonnenschein and H. Lattmann on the *Latin Subjunctive*.

17 June. *Anthologie aus den Lyrikern der Griechen—von E. Buchholz*. III. 5. A. von J. Sitzler (Eberhard). F. Kanngiesser, *Die Flora des Herodot* (Stadler). E. Frohn, *De carmine XXV. Theocriteo quaestiones selectae* (Rannow). *Isidori Etymologiae. Codex Toletanus photographice editus. Praefatus est R. Beer* (Tolkiehn). W. A. Hiedel, *περὶ φύσεως. A study of the conception of Nature among the Pre-Socratics* (Lortzing). F. Ullrich, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Literaturgattung des Symposion* (Raeder).

24 June. Ch. Werner, *Aristote et l'idéalisme Platonicien* (Apelt). P. Terenti Afri *Hauton Timorumenos*, ed. by F. G. Ballentine (Kauer). A. C. Clark, *The Cursus n*

Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin (Ammon). O. A. Danielsson, *Zu den venetischen und lepontischen Inschriften* (Pedersen).

1 July. W. Rh. Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Literature Composition* (Ammon). High praise. *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti*. I. (Weinberger). Fr. Ebert, *Fachausdrücke des griechischen Bauhandwerks*, I. (Köster). H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* IV. 3 (Larfeld).

8 July. Σοφοκλέους δράματα—ἐξ ἑρμηνείας Π. Ν. Παπαγεωργίου. I: Ἡλέκτρα (Wecklein). Much too long, but of some value. Fr. Kluge, *De Platonis Critia* (Raeder). Good on the relation of the Critias to Platon's other works. O. Lang, *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 762 analysiert*. —, *Die Catene zum ersten Korintherbrief, kritisch untersucht* (Loeschke). P. Foucart, *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonèse de Thrace au IV^{me} siècle* (Swoboda). High praise. A. Struck, *Mistra. Eine mittelalterliche Ruinenstadt* (Gerland). *Laelia, A Comedy*. Now first printed by G. C. M. Smith (Nebe).

15 July. G. G. Bertazzi, *Storia genetica dell' idealismo platonico*. III (Hoffmann). L. Pareti, *Intorno al περὶ γῆς δι' Ἀπολλοδωροῦ* (Klotz). M. Tulli *Ciceronis oratio pro M. Caelio*. Rec. I. van Wageningen (Nohl). Highly praised; includes a full Latin commentary. S. Aureli *Augustini opera*. VII, III: *Scriptorum contra Donatistas pars III*. Rec. M. Petschenig (Zycha). Contains valuable indices, including a well-selected Index verborum et elocutionum. 1. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. 2. C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the study of the Greek dialects—Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*. 3. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae—tertium ed.* F. Solmsen (Schwyzer).

22 July. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VII ed. by A. S. Hunt (Schroeder-Fuhr) 'die ganze Publikation musterhaft.' J. Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante* (Helbing). R. Philippson, *Horaz' Verhältnis zur Philosophie* (Röhl). W. H. Roscher, *Die Tessarakontaden der Griechen und anderer Völker* (L. Ziehen). G. Kip, *Thessalische Studien* (Weil). *Der obergermanisch-rätische Limes des Römerreichs*. Lief. XXXII (G. Wolff). Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* (Gerland). High praise.

Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen. XLIII. 1911.

M. Hauck, *De Hymnorum Orphicorum aetate*. No arguments as to date can be drawn from metrical usage. Imitations of Homer, Hesiod, lyric, tragic, epic, and Alexandrian poets, also among other late poets of Proclus. This last fact gives us a *terminus ante quem*, and combined with fact that no imitation of poets later than Proclus can be found, points to end of fifth century A.D. as date of Hymns. This is confirmed by character of language. Only 59 seems older than the rest. Hymns probably composed in Asia Minor and for use of devotees.

Classical Philology. Vol. 6. No. 3. 1911.

The Origin of the Realistic Romance among the Romans, Frank Frost Abbott. *Suspected Flaws in Homeric Similes*, A. Shewan. *The Manuscripts of Propertius*, B. L. Ullman. *The Prenuptial Rite in the New Callimachus*, Duane Reed Stuart. *The Latin Confixes -ēdon-, -edno- 'eating'*, Edwin W. Fay. *Concerning the Oratory of Brutus*, Edward J. Filbey. *The Provenance of Jerome's Catalogues of Varro's Works*, G. L. Hendrickson. *Notes and Discussions: Nestor's Son Peisistratos in Homer*, John A. Scott. *Marginalia on Apuleius's Metamorphoses*, Henry W. Prescott. *Notes on Lucretius*, W. A. Merrill. *Emendations of Porphyry de Abstinencia*, Paul Shorey. *Notes on two Compounds of figo*, Clara Louise Thompson. *Reviews*.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1911.

10 June. H. Brewer, (i) *Kommodian von Gaza*, (ii) *Die Frage um das Zeitalter Kommodians*, 'shews that Commodian belongs to the fifth century, and thus solves an important problem of early Christian literature' (A. Bigelmair). C. U. Clark, *Anmiani Marcellini quae supersunt*. 'The text shows great improvements' (P. Lehmann). F. Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderröman* (H. Becker).

17 June. W. Petersen, *Greek diminutives in -iov*. '-iov originally denoted "belonging to," occasionally "descended from"' (H. Meltzer). G. Przychocki, *Die Vatikanischen Handschriften der Briefe des heiligen Gregor von Nazianz* (J. Dräseke). J. Kessler, *Isokrates und die panhellenische Idee* (P. Wendland).

24 June. F. Albers, *Luciani quae fertur Demosthenis laudatio* (Ths. Otto Achelis). F. G. Ballentine, *P. Terenti Afri Hauton timorumenos* (M. Niemeyer).

1 July. E. Capps, *Four plays of Menander*. 'Very few of C.'s conjectures find support in the Cairo Papyrus' (C. Jensen).

8 July. A. E. Taylor, *Varia Socratica*. 'T. maintains that the Socrates of Plato expresses substantially the views of the real Socrates. Even those who disagree with his main contention have much to thank him for' (P. Natorp). A. Nelson, *Die Hippokratische Schrift περὶ φυσῶν* (W. Schonack). B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*. New and enlarged edition, assisted by G. F. Hill, G. Macdonald and W. Wroth. 'Everywhere we recognize improvement and thoroughness' (F. Friedensburg).

15 July. A. L. Smith, *Frederic William Maitland*. 'Makes it clear that M. recognized that the history of law is the history of ideas, that history alone makes law intelligible' (E. Bernatzik). A. Fairbanks, *A Handbook of Greek Religion* (S. Wide). R. C. Kukula, *Briefe des Jüngeren Plinius* (J. Sölch). G. Billeter, *Die Anschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums*. 'An historical discussion would have brought out the problems more clearly' (P. Wendland).

22 July. C. Joret, *D'Ansse de Villosion et l'hellénisme en France* (P. A. Becker). E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (F. Hiller v. Gaertringen).

29 July. A. Gercke and E. Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (W. Kroll). J. B. Bury, *The Constitution of the later Roman Empire*. 'Absolutism from Constantine in the fourth century to Manuel Comnenus in the twelfth produced a series of competent rulers, which need not fear comparison with the annals of other States during the Middle Ages' (Willy Strehl).

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 173. III. 1911.

E. F. Bruck, *Die Schenkung auf den Todesfall im griechischen und römischen Recht*. —, *Zur Geschichte der Verfügungen von Todeswegen in altgriechischen Recht* (L. Wenger). B's work highly important.

173. VII. 1911.

Von Soden, *Das Lateinische Neue Testament in Apion zur Zeit Cyprians* (P. Corssen). Superior to anything previously produced. A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri VII* (K. Schmidt). Suggestions for new Callimachus fragments etc., e.g. *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* = Eros, cf. Ar. Av. 1731 sqq., *Ἀγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ* . . . explained by Call. Artemis. 251 sqq., *ἀνέτως* emended into *ἀνὰ τὴν* = *τὴν ἀνεκάλυψεν*.

Hermes. 46. 2.

R. Laqueur, *Ephorus*, 1. *Die Proömien*. Discusses the dissimilarity of Diodorus' introductions in Books I (I^b)-III, and IV-XX, and concludes that of the latter IV-XVI are directly, XVII-XX indirectly modelled on Ephorus. J. L. Heiberg, *Noch einmal die mittelalterliche Ptolemaiosübersetzung*. Supplements author's article in Bd. XLV. 57 sqq. in light of discoveries of Haskins and Lockwood, published in 'Harvard Studies in Classical Philology' XXI 75 sqq. C. Robert, *Archäologische Nachlese*. XX. Die Götter in der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie. Identifies the figures. XXI. Ostia und Portus. Identifies town on sarcophagus in Sala del Meleagro of Vatican as Ostia and male figure as Portus Augusti. A. Philippson, *Zur Geographie der unteren Kaikos-Ebene in Kleinasien*. Criticises Dörpfeld's attempt (in Ath. Mitteil. XXXV. 395-399) to justify Strabo's account of this region on geological grounds. H. Diels, *Hippokratische Forschungen*, II, III. F. Solmsen, *Zeus Thaulios*. Connects Θαύλιος, Θαύλων etc. with Lydian Κανθαύλας (= dog strangler), and δαος (Phrygian for 'wolf'), and derives both groups from root in a meaning 'to strangle.' The Θανλωνίδαι of Athens derived their name from custom of strangling victims by hanging, attested by coins from Troy (cf. Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion, 514 sqq.), and several passages in literature.

Mnemosyne. 39. 3. 1911.

P. H. Damsté, *Ad Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (continued). Discussions and emendations, from the Valeriani to Carinus. P. H. D., *Ad Minucii Felicis Oct.* 22. 6. Read *trina gerit fulmina*. H. Wagenvoort H. fil., *Hor. Carm.* II. 16. 4. Read *nauta*. S. A. Naber, *Adnotationes criticae ad Appiani Historiam Romanam*. Discussions and emendations, spread over the whole work. J. J. H., *Cic. pro Rosc. Am.* § 136. Read *humilitatem cum amplitudine de dignitate*. J. J. Hartman, *Adnotationes criticae ad Plutarchi opera* (continued). Cato (Uticensis), Agis, Cleomenes, the Gracchi, Comp. Ag. et Cleom. et Gracch., Demosthenes, Cicero, Demetrius, Antony, Dio, Brutus, Comp. Dion. et Br., Artaxerxes, Aratus, Galba. J. J. H., *De Ovidio in exilium proficiscente*. How is *Pont.* II. 3. 83 f. (reading *Aethalis Ilva*) to be reconciled with *Tr.* I. 3, where Ovid starts for exile from his own house? J. van Leeuwen J. f., *Homericæ* (continued). The bankruptcy of objective and subjective arguments against the unity of the epics. Phases of the author's own faith: the sudden flash by which he saw that the story of the Iliad belongs not to the ninth year but to quite an early stage of the war: to his new unworldly eyes the epics are not mosaics but poems. Explanations of passages suspected or misunderstood: A 4, 5, the story of Chryseis, A 279-303, 397-400, 421 ff. (the reckoning of time by *νυχθήμερα*, cf. Θ 541 ff.), 592, B 29-33, 50 ff., 73-5, O 679 ff. (Homeric horses and horsemanship), Attic interpolations (B 546 ff., η 80 f.), Γ 121, E 127-32, 355 (*μάχης ἀριστέρα* always means the part near the Sca-mander), 576-9. (To be continued.)

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 27. 5. 1911.

L. Deubner, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der altrömischen Religion*. A study of survivals in Roman cults from a time when man felt himself able to interfere in the workings of nature without help from gods or spirits. The ritual stratum can sometimes be distinguished from the later element of worship, as in the Palilia. The Quinquatrus and Armilustrium began as purges of weapons before and after the military season: the Sali came in later. Later features can be detected also in the Equirria and the October horse. Other rituals not originally addressed to gods are the Saturnalia, Divalia, Robigalia, Cerialia, Meditrinalia, Fontinalia, Portunalia, etc. When old rites had lost their meaning, they were connected with gods, a comparatively late invention; and some gods were evolved from acts or words used in the rites. Jupiter Lapis shows a fetish which came to be identified with a god. An

excursus argues that Polybius' account of J. L. confuses the fetials' formula of alliance with the formula of a private oath. Th. Birt, *Was hat Seneca mit seinen Tragödien gewollt?* The intimate connexion between S. as moralist and S. as dramatist. The aim of his plays is paedagogic; they were warning pictures. Despite his limitation to three speakers, he wrote for recitation (probably *per lectorem*), not for acting, and so could allow violent action 'on the stage'; thus breaking with Greek tradition, and setting a model for later drama. Many lines are stage directions to help the reader; many things that would have been *seen* on the stage are *described*; and many events occur which could not have been played. S. the dramatist is above all the author of the *de ira* and *de clementia*, and the tutor of Nero. No play was written before 49; most of them are later than 54; some can be more exactly dated by allusions to contemporary events, and especially by the phases of Nero's career. The ascription of the plays to another S. may be due to the distinction in early Christian libraries between *scriptores ecclesiastici* or *religiosi*, and *s. saeculares*: the former would include his moral writings, but not his plays. The *Phoenissae*, despite the changes of scene, is parts of a single play never completed, of which the outline can be conjecturally restored. F. Kluge, *Aufgabe und Methode der etymologischen Forschung*. The functions and limitations of etymology, especially in respect of borrowed words. Words must be studied chronologically before etymological combinations are attempted. W. Pecz, *Karl Krumbacher und die griechische Philologie*. The domain of Byzantine 'philology,' and its relations to Greek studies, classical, hellenistic, and modern. Reviews of O. Schrader, *Die Indogermanen* (H. Meltzer); G. N. v. Brauchitsch, *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Th. O. Achelis); J. Geffcken, *Kynika und Verwandtes* (W. Capelle); L. Zurlinden, *Gedanken Platons in der deutschen Romantik* (R. Petsch).

27. 6. 1911.

J. Geffcken, *Studien zur griechischen Satire*. An analysis of the elements of satire and self-mockery in Greek literature down to the 3rd century B.C. (to be continued). L. Simon, *Die Spuren einer unbekannten Philippika Ciceros*. From *Phil.* vi. §§ 6, 16 it appears that Cicero delivered in the Senate a speech intermediate in date between our 5th and 6th, on the occasion of the speech put into his mouth by Appian *civ.* iii. 52-3. A.'s mention of the tribune Salvius, who is not named in our Philipppics, makes it likely that this speech existed in A.'s time. Arusianus Messius (4th century) cites a 16th and a 17th Philippic. Reviews of R. Freih. v. Lichtenberg, *Haus, Dorf, Stadt* (by F. Koepf); and of *Die Anthropologie und die Klassiker. Sechs Vorlesungen an der Universität Oxford, übersetzt von J. Hoops* (by H. Meltzer).

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1911.

12 June. *Studia Pontica*. III. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie*, publ. par J. G. C. Anderson, Fr. Cumont, H. Grégoire (W. Larfeld). A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Alte orientalische Geschichte*, von H. Zuschlag. 2. Aufl. (A. Šanda). C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Die historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit* (A. Šanda). A. Morgenthaler, *De Catulli codicibus* (B. L. Ullmann).

19 June. O. Braunstein, *Die politische Wirksamkeit der griechischen Frau* (Fr. Cauer). C. Ganzenmüller, *Die Elegie Nux und ihr Verfasser* (Fr. Pfister). R. B. Steele, *Conditional statements in Livy* (H. Blase). R. B. Steele, *Case usage in Livy. I. The genitive* (H. Blase). T. Livi *Periochae omnium librorum. Fragmenta Oxyrhynchi reperta: Julii Obsequentis Prodigiorum liber*, ed. O. Rossbach (Ed. Wolff). *Berliner Klassiker texte*. VI. *Altchristliche Texte*, bearb. von C. Schmidt und W. Schubart (O. Stählin).

26 June. E. Demisch, *Die Schuldenerbfolge im attischen Recht* (Fr. Cauer). L. Moulé, *Études zoologiques et zootechniques dans la littérature et dans l'art. La faune*

d'Homère (Chr. Harder). A. Schönemann, *De Taciti Germaniae codicibus capita duo* (E. Wolff). H. Brewer, *Die Frage um das Zeitalter Kommodians* (W. Thiele) I.

3 July. E. F. Bruck, *Zur Geschichte der Verfügungen von Todeswegen im altgriechischen Recht* (Fr. Cauer). R. J. Bonner, *Administration of Justice in the age of Homer* (Chr. Harder). K. Conradt, *Die metrische und rhythmische Komposition der Komödien des Aristophanes*. II (K. Löschhorn).

10 July. W. König, *Der Bund der Nesioten*. On the history of the Cyclades and neighbouring islands in the Hellenistic period. G. Rudberg, *Kleinere Aristotelesfragen*, II. On the Greek text from which the Arabian version of the Hist. An. was formed. L. Jalabert, *Epigraphie* (W. Larfeld). P. Sommer, *De Vergilii Catalepton carminibus capita tria* (A. Körte). R. Ellis, *Professor Birt's edition of the Vergilian Catalepton* (A. Körte). M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, *L'autenticità dell' appendix Vergiliana* (A. Körte).

17 July. K. Lehmann, *Die Schlacht am Granikos* (W. Gemoll). A. Blondeau, *Delos und Delphi* (K. Löschhorn). A. Denecke, *Zur Würdigung des Plautus* (K. Löschhorn). R. Philippson, *Horaz' Verhältnis zur Philosophie* (E. Schweikert). J. Schmaus, *Charakterbilder römischer Kaiser aus der Zeit des Prinzipats* (W. Thiele).

24 July (double number). C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the study of the Greek dialects* (R. Wagner). *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae*, tert. ed. F. Solmsen (R. Wagner). C. W. Botsford, *The Constitution and Politics of the Boeotian League from its origin to the year 387 B.C.* (H. Swoboda). Plutarch, *Biographie der älteren Cato*, herausg. von A. Krajewski (Z. Dembitzer). E. Müller, *De auctoritate et origine exemplorum orationis solutae graecorum quae Priscianus contulit capita selecta* (K. Cybulla). F. Wilhelm, *Die Schrift des Juncus περὶ γῆρας und ihr Verhältnis zu Ciceros Cato maior* (K. Löschhorn). E. F. Bruck, *Die Schenkung auf den Todesfall im griechischen und römischen Recht* (E. Grupe). K. Fitzler, *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im Ptolemäischen und Römischen Ägypten* (A. Wiedemann). H. Wagenvoort, *de Horatii quae dicuntur Odis Romanis* (R. Philippson). E. Hedickii *Studia Bentleiana*. VI. *Lucanus Bentleianus* (K. Löschhorn). P. Siewert, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Petronius* (K. Löschhorn). F. Krohn, *Ad, In und andere Palaeographica* (K. Löschhorn).

7 August. E. Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen* (R. Helm). W. L. Friedrich, *De Senecae libro qui inscribitur De constantia sapientis* (W. Isleib). G. Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (A. Schulten). A. Taccone, *Il libro I delle Postomeriche di Quinto Smirneo*. Argomento e versione (Ed. Wolff).

14 August (double number). Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Herausg. von G. Wissowa und W. Kroll. 13 Halbband. *Fornax-Glycon* (Fr. Harder). J. Ruppert, *Quaestiones ad historiam dedicationis librorum pertinentes* (H. Mutschmann). A. Gruhn, *Der Schauplatz der Ilias und Odyssee*. 10 Heft. *Aeolus, Lästrygonen, Kirke, Aïdes, Albanien* (C. Rothe). C. Zander, *Eurythmia vel compositio rhythmica prosae antiquae*. I. *Eurythmia Demosthenis* (H. Bornecque). J. Franke, *De militis gloriosi Plautini compositione* (C. Bardt). C. Barbagello, *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell'impero Romano* (Grupe). G. Tomassetti, *La campagna Romana antica, medioevale e moderna*. Vol. II. (Köhler). O. Schrader, *Die Indogermanen* (A. H.-K.).

28 August. A. W. Verrall, *The Bacchants of Euripides and other Essays* (R. Wagner). 'Deserves the attention of the learned world in Germany.' Fr. Nassal, *Ästhetisch-rhetorische Beziehungen zwischen Dionysius von Halicarnass und Cicero* (C. Jacoby). M. v. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. II, 1. *Die augustische Zeit*. 3 Aufl. (Fr. Harder).

LANGUAGE.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXVIII. Band, 4-5 Heft. 1911.

K. Brugmann, *Griechische und lateinische Etymologien*: ἔσμος, ἔνιοι, κόσμος, νόσος, ὕννη, stiuā, castrare, mittere, populus. Brugmann also contributes an article on fuēre, fuērunt, fuērunt. A. Walde, *Odium und der Betrieb der lateinischen Etymologie*, a discussion of an article by Skutsch in *Glotta* II 230 sqq.

Anzeiger, 2 Heft.

Reviews of Reichelt's *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Thumb's *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache* (second edition), the fourth edition of the *Latin Grammar and Syntax* by Stolz and Schmalz in Müller's *Handbuch*, Ottenjann's *De vocum encliticarum apud Plautum collocatione*.

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. XVII. 1.

A. Meillet, *Recherches sur la syntaxe composée de l'arménien* (V). L. Homburger, *Les pronoms de la 1^{re} et 2^e personne des parlers bantous*. E. Boisacq, *Grec. κράνος, κέρασος et congénères*. An examination of the attempt to connect κέρασ, κέρασος, etc., with the Albanian *thave*. A. Meillet, *Les formes verbales de l' I. E. *melg 'traire.'* An attempt to connect ἀμέλγω, ἀμέργω and ὁμόργνυμι.

XVII. 2.

G. Ferrand, *Notes de phonétique malgache*. A. Meillet, *Notes iraniennes*. E. Boisacq, *Greek κέλωρ 'fils' et homonymes*. Boisacq holds that the word is a dissimilation of *κερωρ, and is related to κόρFος, κοῦρος, etc. Beuchat et Rivet, *La famille betoya ou tucano*.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

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This INDEX is compiled by W. F. R. Shilleto, M.A., sometime Foundation Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.

ERRATA.

Page 112, l. 5. For 'iii. 7' read 'viii. 7.'

„ 164, etc. In the headlines read S. ELIZABETH JACKSON.

„ 200, last line but 5. For 'Ders, Le Culex' read '—, Le Culex.'

„ 201, l. 33. For ôdôs read ôdôs.

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